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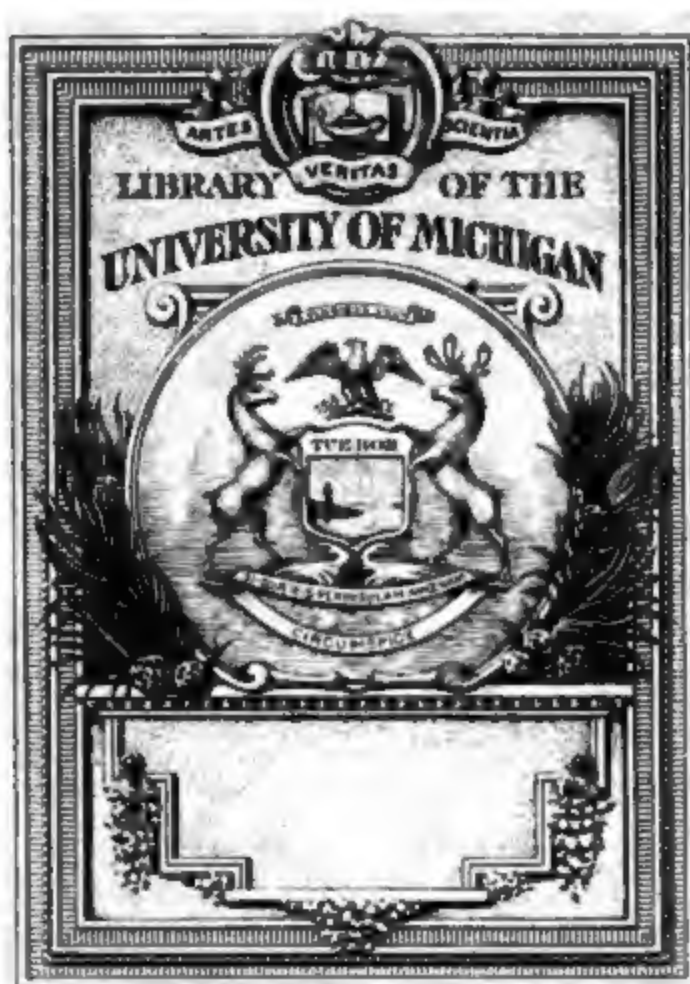
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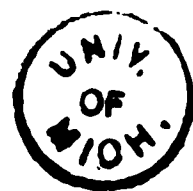
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12/15/54







HIGH GREEK ORTHODOX ECCLESIASTICS AT CHURCH DEDICATION,
PRAHOVA DISTRICT, 1913

GREATER ROUMANIA

BY
CHARLES UPSON CLARK, Ph.D.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS



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PREFACE

In my study of anti-Italian propaganda during and after the war, I became interested in the similar campaign of misrepresentation directed against Roumania. The two Latin sisters had much in common in their relation to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; but Roumania was far less known in the West than Italy. Accordingly I welcomed an invitation of 1919 from the Roumanian Government to come out and observe the post-war situation on the spot. This book is based on those personal observations.

Our ignorance of Roumania is so great that I have thought it desirable to sketch the geography and history of the country, as an introduction; her part in the war has been so maligned that I have inserted a brief account, based on official sources, of her heroic defence and of the great victory she won over Mackensen at Mărășeshti; her campaign against Béla Kun's attack has been so distorted that I have devoted a chapter (also embodying an official report) to the story of her clever and successful parrying of the blow. Having had the unusual good fortune to be in Buda-Pesth under the Roumanian occupation, as well as in Paris during part of the Conference, and to have access to several documents hitherto unpublished, I am enabled to give a fuller and more accurate story, I hope, of her relations with the Peace Conference, than has yet been attempted. Through the courtesy of the American Re-

lief Administration, the American Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A., I include résumés of their activities, which have made the American name beloved throughout Roumania. Since she offers remarkable opportunities to the farsighted American capitalist and manufacturer, I have tried to make the book a trustworthy work of reference for the business man, as well as for the traveller and the student of history and literature.

It is a grateful task to acknowledge unbounded courtesies and hospitality from those mentioned in these pages, and many others. My chapters on the history, language and literature have had the advantage of kind criticism and correction by my friends Mr. Nicholas H. E. Lahovari, Dr. I. Lugosiano and Capt. Basil Stoïca; but these gentlemen are not to be understood as sharing my views, nor are they to be held responsible for any of my statements and opinions.

In Roumanian proper names, I have in general followed their convention, by which, on visiting-cards printed for Western Europe, Carol Brătianu becomes Charles Bratiano, and Tache Ionescu, Take Jonesco. I would urge every reader first to study the pronunciation of the language, explained on p. 344; it is almost as melodious as the Italian it so closely resembles. An agreeable surprise of my lecture tour devoted to Roumania was the delight shown over the Roumanian poems which I quoted; and this has emboldened me to print several of them in this book, with only a literal translation.

In fine, my attempt has been to provide the reader with the necessary elements for a sympathetic under-

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standing of Roumania, her policy, her ambitions and her future. I have tried to embody my deep impression of a national education, through centuries of storm and oppression, to the present marvellous development of this attractive and gifted people—how misunderstood and misrepresented, I hope to have made clear. May the reader end sharing my conviction that Roumania has the future of Southeastern Europe in her hands, and that any Western nation will honour itself, as well as profit, by helpful association in Roumanian development.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Paris, October 24, 1921



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GREATER ROUMANIA

GREATER ROUMANIA

CHAPTER I

THE LAND

THE life-blood of Greater Roumania is sustained by four elements—the Danube, whose main stream and affluents are her arteries; the Carpathian Mountains and their smiling vine-clad hills, rich in minerals and oil; the plains, sweeping down from Hungary on the west to the narrow thread of the Iron Gates, and then expanding eastward into the steppes of the Ukraine; and the Black Sea, her route to the Dardanelles and the Orient. Roumania lies across the Danube, a bar to German-Austro-Magyar penetration eastward; she fronts upon the Euxine, and thus blocks Russia's path toward Constantinople. This strategic position forms her strength and her weakness, and explains her neighbours' covetousness.

In general, the new Roumania has well-marked boundaries: the Dniester against the Ukraine (though the Roumanian peasantry prevails beyond the river, to within a few miles of Odessa itself); the Theiss against the Magyars (but the Peace Conference has drawn the line some miles east of the river); the Danube against the Serbs and Bulgarians (with some overlapping here also); and the Black Sea to the east. It forms a compact mass of some

300,000 square kilometres (say 115,000 sq. m., greater in area than Italy or England, or than New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania combined). Its southernmost point ($43^{\circ} 15'$) lies even with Nice, Detroit and Vladivostok; the extreme north of the Maramuresh ($48^{\circ} 45'$) is on the same meridian with Paris, the Saguenay River, Vancouver and northern Manchuria. East and west, it runs between $17^{\circ} 40'$ and $28^{\circ} 5'$ E.—about the distance between Vienna and Geneva, or Pittsburgh and St. Louis. This northern trend, together with the lofty mountains and the illimitable plains running up into Russia, makes the climate harsh and highly variable. In the July harvesting in southern Wallachia, the peasant faces a truly African heat, which sometimes rises to 108° in the shade; in the long winter, he has to fight against a cold which occasionally drops to -30° , with a freezing wind off the steppes. These extremes toughen his constitution, and perhaps explain why malaria is so much less of a scourge than in Albania and Italy, although the anopheles seems quite as abundant.

In a typical Roumanian season, cold nights and snow-squalls last into April; spring comes on with a rush, and by the end of May summer heat shimmers over the plains. Autumn arrives with the same brusqueness, and yields to winter sometimes as early as October; but the heavy frosts generally hold off until the turn of the year. In November of 1919 I ran into zero weather in the Bucovina, and have rarely felt the cold as I did in the fetid unheated train from Czernowitz to Bucharest the night of the 19th; yet the peasant soldiers who crowded the

roofs of the coaches faced the biting wind all night long without complaint. There is of course a great difference between south and north, and plain and mountain; lilacs bloom along the Danube and the Theiss five weeks earlier than in the upper Maramuresh and Bucovina. Late summer weather is generally fine and clear, and Roumanians whom business calls to western Europe sigh constantly for the soft blue skies and the endless green fields and hillsides of their home. In the Banat and Wallachia, just about half the year is cloudless altogether; fair days wholly overcast hardly come except in winter, and then especially in the mountains. While there is really no rainy season, more rain generally falls about the summer solstice than at any other period. May, June and July are apt to be wet; August and September, and January and February, are usually dry. The rain fall is not heavy; only in the Carpathians does it approach the average of the Atlantic sea-board, though there are mountain valleys where it reaches 50 or 55 inches. Over most of Roumania no more rain falls than in Kansas or Nebraska; the steppes of Wallachia, the Dobrudja and southern Bessarabia (the Budjac) get only about 15 inches a year. The summer rains are often accompanied by frightful thunder and hail-storms; the record downfall is of 8 inches in 20 minutes at Argesh, and at Cara-Omer in the Dobrudja 13 inches once fell in 4 hours! Two years out of five are generally dry; in a century of observation, there were three years of extreme drought; 58 of partial drought ($\frac{3}{4}$ of the normal rainfall, which for Roumania as a whole is about 24 in.); 24 wet years, with precipitation de-

cidedly over the average, and 15 when it ran $\frac{1}{4}$ beyond the normal. In an agricultural country relatively undeveloped, like Roumania, these relations are vital; a dry year means hunger and distress even yet, and as recently as 1899 (a very dry year) and 1904 the Kingdom found itself forced to import corn in order to avert famine.

Like our own plains, Roumania is a land of ever-blowing breezes. The strong East wind (E.-N.-E., called the Crivătz) off the Russian steppes brings their baking heat in the summer, and in January will freeze the Danube almost over night. The Southwest wind, the Austru, blows just as often; it is really a continuation of the African sirocco, which reaches Hungary and the Banat, and so is usually a warm wind. Still warmer is the Southeast wind, the Băl-tăretz, which brings in the moisture of the Black Sea and the Danube delta. During the summer heat, whirlwinds and even cyclones arise occasionally, and do much damage. But in general one thinks of the Roumanian breezes as rippling the infinite wheat-fields, bearing off the floating plum petals, or breathing upon one the cool resinous fragrance of the spruce forests of the Carpathians.

CHAPTER II

THE DANUBE AND OTHER RIVERS

MISTRESS of the mouth of the Danube, Roumania has a closer interest in the great river than any other nation. The Danube, moreover, is to Roumania not merely a great trade channel, which gives her through water communication even with the Baltic and the North Sea as well as with the Euxine; but since the river forms a delta comparable with that of the Nile or the Mississippi, overflowing an area of more than two million acres, it brings up unusual agricultural and fishery problems. The difficulty is increased by the variation of the river's volume. At low water, the Danube discharges only 2000 cubic metres per second; at high water, up to 36,000! It is to be hoped that the International Danube Commission will take up again and carry through its plans for systematic regulation of the river, with a series of reservoirs. Till then, Roumania must content herself with the remarkable achievements of her distinguished scientist, Dr. Gregory Antipa, who succeeded for a time, at least, in harmonizing the opposing claims of agriculture and the fisheries. The farmers would like to have the river dyked in by levees for its lower course, and reclaim, at least for pasturage, all the overflowed area; but much of this region is light sandy soil, quite worthless without the annual deposit of river mud; and much is made up of per-

manent lakes and canals. Furthermore, the fisheries are a State monopoly and bring in an income (to take merely the stretch from above Braila to the Black Sea) of about a million dollars a year. To show how dependent the fisheries are on the Danube overflow, I reproduce Dr. Antipa's figures for the fisheries on the island of Braila alone, taking an average period:

Year (Apr. 1- Mar. 31)	Extreme High Water at Braila (in metres)	Duration of Flood, in days		Fish Catch (in tons)
		over the bank (4 metres)	in canals	
1903-04.....	4.45	20	28	2650
1904-05.....	3.57	1000
1905-06.....	4.57	74	142	3630
1906-07.....	4.73	71	129	5830
1907-08.....	5.40	128	154	7050

The fish are the same as in such muddy deltas elsewhere—carp, catfish, sturgeon (which, like the mullet and herring, run up from the Black Sea to spawn) and pike-perch; the sturgeon caviar is second only to that of the Volga. There is also a fascinating bird-life in these lagoons and swamps—wild-fowl in numbers unbelievable, even yet; egrets, cranes, cormorants, pelicans and an occasional flamingo.

The Danube is a stately stream, the largest in Europe west of the Volga—some 1800 miles long, or about the length of the Arkansas or the Rio Grande. After receiving the Save at Belgrade and the Morava at Semendria, it meets the barrier formed by the southern foothills of the Carpathians, and the northernmost extensions of the Balkans; at Cazane it dashes between cliffs less than 400 feet apart; on the north side are still to be seen the remains of the roadway hewn in the rock by the



ON THE LOWER DANUBE; HILLS OF THE DOBRUDJA IN THE BACKGROUND





THE DANUBE AND OTHER RIVERS 7

Romans under Trajan. Widening enough to house the town of Orshova, the river soon narrows again, and dangerous rocks rise from its waves; here are the famous "Portzi de fer" (Iron Gates), which used to block navigation for over a mile and a half. This passage through the mountains is altogether some 80 miles long, and the Serbian side is hilly throughout; but from Turn Severin on, the Roumanian bank flattens out, and lagoons and marshes fill the northern landscape. The hills rise again as the river approaches the sea, and it has to make a great bend to the north to avoid them; but once past the Dobrudja uplands, it loses itself in the delta, which was renowned even in antiquity for its seven channels. No less than 675,000 acres are covered with high reeds; the famous "floating islands" take up nearly a quarter of this area. Where the soil permits, much use is made of the so-called "Bulgarian wheels"—mill-wheels set into the river's bank, which dip up the water into irrigating canals for early vegetables. Dr. Antipa, who had discovered that the plants and micro-organisms which small fry eat, survive exposure to sun and frost for at least one year, developed an ingenious system of alternating cultivation and fishing on the same land in successive years; and it is to be hoped that it will be given a thorough trial on a large scale.

The Danube carries down so much fine sand and clay that it pushes its delta seaward some 15 or 20 feet a year; and its turbid yellow flood overlies the clear green of the Euxine for many miles from shore. This sea receives such a volume of fresh water that it is much fresher than the Mediterra-

nean; at the surface there is only 1.9% salt, but at the greatest depth, of 6500 ft., the percentage rises to 2.2. There is a curious variation of temperature in the Black Sea; at the surface the water runs from 55° to 75°, according to the season; at 50 fathoms, there is a constant temperature of about 45°; but in the lower strata the temperature rises again, to nearly 50°. Life ceases in this sea below 50 fathoms, chiefly in consequence of the large percentage of sulphuretted hydrogen in the deep water.

The Dniester, which rises in the Carpathians in central Galicia, bounds Roumania to the northeast as the Danube does to the south. It is a mountain torrent till it issues from its rocky gates at Soroca; but then it becomes a sluggish and very winding river, capable of navigation in small boats; it empties into the Black Sea near the city of Cetatea Alba (Akkerman), the key to Bessarabia; its mouth is a long and narrow gulf, which it has silted up. The chief rivers of Moldavia are the Pruth and the Sereth, two much embattled streams—the Sereth being witness of the heroic victory of the Roumanians over Mackensen at Mărăsheshti in August, 1917; both rivers empty into the Danube beside Braila and Galatz. The Pruth has become fixed in Roumanian literary tradition as a melancholy river of defeat and death, the channel of the invader, to whom the peasant sang:

Prutule, râu blestemat,
Face-te-ai adânc şi lat
Ca potopul tulburat!
Mal cu mal nu se zărească

THE DANUBE AND OTHER RIVERS 9

Glas cu glas nu se lovească
Ochi cu ochi nu se ajungă
Pe a ta pânză cât de lungă!
Lăcustele când or trece
La ist mal să se înece!
Holerele când or trece
Pe la mijloc să se 'nece!
Dushmanii țării de-or trece
La cel mal să se înece!
Iar tu 'n valurile tale
Să-i tot duci, să-i duci la vale
Pân' la Dunărea cea mare
Pân' în Dunărea shi 'n mare!

O Pruth, accursed stream
You must make yourself deep and wide
Like a muddy flood!
Let one bank not be seen from the other
Let one voice not carry to the other
Let eyes not reach one another
Over thy waters so broad.
Whenever the locusts pass
At the further bank may they drown!
Whenever the plagues pass
In the middle may they drown!
Enemies of our country if they pass
At this bank may they drown.
While you in your waves
May you carry them all down-stream
Down to the Danube, that great river,
Down into the Danube and the sea!

(Popular ballad collected by Alecsandri.)

The streams of the Wallachian plain are not much more than mountain torrents; they are fine trout-brooks in their upper courses, and have great power

possibilities; but they carry little water in the dry months, and are practically useless for navigation. Best known are the Ialomitza and the Dâmbovitza, the muddy creek which flows through Bucharest. But the two westernmost rivers of Wallachia, the Olt (Aluta or Alt) and the Jiu, are respectable streams. Both of them rise up in Transylvania, and pierce the Carpathians by romantic gorges; the Olt has its wealth of ballads also, having been a favourite course of the bandits who fought the Turks and the Magyars:

Astă vară am vărat
Colo 'n muntele cel nalt
Cu luna, cu soarele
Shi cu căprioarele;
Că din nashtere 's Muntean,
Iar din botez sunt Oltean.
Căprioare surioare,
Sculatzi în picioare,
Roadetzi poala codrului
Să văd matca Oltului.
Oltule, pe malul tău
Creshte-ar iarba shi dudău
Ca să pască murgul meu!
Oltule, câine spurcat,
Ce vii mare shi turbat,
Shi cu sânge amestecat?
Or duci plaghii shi butuci
Shi căpestre de cai murgi
Shi chiar trupuri de haiduci!
Oltule, râu blestemat,
N'avushi grijă de păcat
Să 'nghitzi trupuri de voinici
Care-au haiducit pe-aici?

THE DANUBE AND OTHER RIVERS 11

Seca-tzi-ar izvoarele
Shi toate pâraele
Să-tzi rămâe pietrele,
Să le calce fetele,
Că tu n'ai tzinut cu noi
Shi te-ai vândut la ciocoi!
Pe unde-a trecut luntrea,
Inaltză-se pulberea,
C'ai fost rău de Oltenashi
Shi-ai fost bun de poterashi.
Oltenashi ai înghitzit
Poterashi ai răcorit!

This last summer I summered
Up there in that high mountain
With the moon, with the sun
And with the roe-bucks;
For by birth I am a Muntenian
While by baptism I am an Oltenian.
Fallow deer, beloved,
Rise to your feet,
Gnaw at the skirt of the forest
That I may see the bed of the Olt.
Olt, along your bank
Should grow the grass and weeds
For me to feed my bay horse!
Olt, filthy dog,
Why do you come along huge and raving
And tinged with blood?
Or you carry boughs and stumps
And halters of bay horses
And even bodies of bandits!
Olt, accursed river,
Had you no thought of guilt
That you swallow up bodies of the brave
Who played the bandit hereabouts?

May your springs go dry
And all your rivulets,
May they stay dry rocks for you,
May the girls tread upon them,
For you did not keep faith with us
And sold yourself to the constables!
Where the boat has been passing
May the dust rise,
For you were cruel to the Oltenians
And kind to the troopers.
The Oltenians you swallowed up
The troopers you rejoiced!

(Popular ballad collected by Alecsandri.)

The largest river in the western Roumanian area is the Theiss (Roum. Tisa, Hung. Tisza), which would naturally form the boundary on the west; but the Paris Conference has drawn an artificial line somewhat to the eastward, leaving the upper course mostly in Hungary and the lower in Jugo-Slavia. It rises in the mountains of the Maramuresh; after it reaches the plains, its descent is so gentle—about one foot in ten miles—that it meanders in every direction; its actual length, some 750 miles, is double what it would be in a straight line; and like the Missouri and the Danube, its bed changes constantly, working westward over 100 feet a year along much of its course. There is a heavy river traffic on the Theiss; in 1911 the two leading steamer lines carried 175,867 tons; and the affluents from Transylvania and the Banat are also important; the Bega, which passes through Temeshvar, was alone responsible for 400,000 tons of merchandise and over 8500 fir logs from the Banat hills. The Bega canal, between Temesh-

THE DANUBE AND OTHER RIVERS 13

var and the Theiss, transported 410,960 tons in that year. Largest of all these tributaries of the Theiss is the Muresh (Hungarian Maros)—a river sacred to the Roumanian aspirations for unity. After issuing from its picturesque mountain defiles, it passes Alba-Julia (Karlsburg, Karolyfejérvár), where Michael the Brave made his triumphal entry in November, 1599, after his great victory over the Magyars; where, in the early winter of 1918, was held the assembly which voted the annexation of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Roumania; and where, in September, 1921, Ferdinand and Marie were crowned sovereigns of Greater Roumania. A few miles east lies Blaj (Balizsfelva), scene of the "Field of Liberty" of 1848, where the Transylvanian Roumanians drew up a charter of liberties, which had to wait two generations for realization.

Roumania is also rich in lakes; but only those along the Danube and the sea-coast are of any size; Lake Razilm, where the Dobrudja touches the Danube delta, is the largest, and is rich in fish. Lake St. Anne, in the upper Olt valley, fills an extinct crater; Lake Tekirghiol, near Constantza, and Salt Lake near Braila are famous for the medicinal mud which forms their beds. The Bessarabian coast is one series of lakes formed by bays of the sea which have silted up; and further north, not far from the Dniester, is a country which boasts of hundreds of small ponds. The problem of reclamation of swamp lands calls for solution all over Roumania; and millions of capital will find profitable employment in power projects, irrigation schemes and other uses of this wealth of water courses.

CHAPTER III

THE MOUNTAINS

THE Carpathians form the back-bone of Roumania, and are in addition the cradle of the race, beloved by every patriot. Rising along the Danube near Vienna, they sweep in a great crescent about the Hungarian plain till their last foothills face the Balkans, again on the Danube. Their first great elevation is reached where they separate northern Hungary from Galicia, in the broad chain, of very ancient rocks, of the Erzgebirge and the Hohe Tatra (over 8700 ft.), which are called the Northern Carpathians. Then the range turns southeastward, and becomes the Eastern or Wooded Carpathians—rolling ridges, rising to respectable heights, and covered with spruce and beech. Where they separate the Maramuresh and the Bucovina, great forests of larch give them the name of the Black Mountains (Mt. Hovârla, 6800 ft.); further south is the Rodna range (Mt. Pietros, 7500 ft.). Here is a much-used pass, the Shtiol (4600 ft.), leading from the Vishau valley to the upper Bistritza in Bucovina; and over the Körösmezö Pass run both highway and railroad from the upper Theiss valley to that of the Pruth in Moldavia. The next important range is the Ceahlau, which runs about 6500 ft.; here are several passes between Transylvania, the Bucovina and Moldavia; that of the Bârgăul is about 4000

ft. Further south the peaks do not much surpass 5000 ft.; the Penteleu (5800 ft.) is famous for the thousands of sheep which cover its pastures in summer. This region is full of passes; the Trotush carries the railroad from Ajud, on the main line up the Sereth, to Ghemesh (2350 ft.), whence it descends into the Muresh valley. A side valley, that of the Oituz, leads over the Oituz Pass into the Szekler country in Transylvania. East of the main range of the Eastern Carpathians and extending as far as the Sereth, runs a parallel line of hills, occasionally reaching a height of 2250 ft., of schists and sandstone; like the similar foot-hills in Wallachia, they are full of great pockets of salt and oil.

Just where the Carpathians approach nearest the lower Danube, they suddenly turn west, and skirting the Wallachian plain, reach the river finally at the Iron Gates. These Southern Carpathians in general form two parallel ranges of ancient crystalline rocks, the peaks of which have weathered off and are quite Alpine in appearance; hence the name of Transylvanian Alps. To me, they resemble more the Tuscan Apennines north of Lucca, or the lower Canadian Rockies. The peaks have no tree but dwarf juniper on their last 1000 feet, but a rich sweet turf, lodestone of the Roumanian shepherds, grows everywhere among the rocks. The upper valleys are generally carved out into the likeness of the heel of a boot, or half a round kettle, and are called cǎldare (kettles); little Alpine lakes, fed by snow-banks which lie in sheltered spots till late summer, add to their beauty. Many of the peaks exceed 7000 ft., and the Moldovean and Negoiu are over 8300.

Numerous deep defiles and passes give communication with Transylvania; the Bran (4000 ft.) is, according to tradition, the path over which (in 1330) the defeated Hungarian hosts of Charles Robert were pursued by Bessarab, ruler of Wallachia. The Predeal (3500 ft.), a few miles east, is the chief passage northward from the Wallachian plain, and the route followed by the railway; Sinaia, the King's summer palace, lies near the summit, in a charming region of trout-brooks and spruce forests, behind which rise bleak cliffs and sharp peaks; all this region is a favourite summer resort, lying only a few hours from the metropolis. Further west, the gorge of the Olt leads the railroad up from Wallachia to Sibiu (Hermannstadt) over the traces of a Roman road; the deep ravine by which the Jiu pierces the Carpathians at Surduc (1750 ft.) is utilized by a highway, but the railroad has not yet been carried completely through. Just as in Moldavia, there is a line of foot-hills skirting the Carpathians to the south; these are of importance not only for their deposits of oil and salt, but because the disintegrating shales of their slopes make excellent farming and orchard soil; the densest rural population of Roumania dwells upon these hill-sides.

Besides the Carpathians, there are several other mountain groups on Roumanian territory. The Eastern Banat has one, with peaks approaching 5000 ft.; it reaches the Danube at the Clisura Cazanelor (cauldron rapids). This seems to have been the most populous region of ancient Dacia, and traces of Roman roads run in every direction; one of the best known is that which runs from Caransebes to

the Iron Gates of Transylvania, at Hatzeg. These mountains are notorious for horned vipers and scorpions, and for a fly (*musca culumbaca*) which drives the cattle frantic in early summer, and which local tradition says goes back to the many-headed dragon whose den was at Columbaca, near the Danube, and which was driven up into the mountains and killed by Jovan Jorgovan (Hercules). These Banat mountains spread out westward into wide low hills, which terminate abruptly over the plain in gleaming cliffs of white marble.

The Carpathians hem in the Transylvanian plateau on every quarter but the west; and on that side also rise mountain ranges, called the Western Mountains (*Muntzii Apuseni*). They reach nearly 6000 ft. in elevation and are dear to the Roumanian heart not only for the picturesque beauty of their narrow gorges and high cascades, but because they were the home of many distinguished patriots—among others, Nicola Ursu (Horia), head of the peasant uprising of 1784 against the Vienna government, and Avram Iancu, leader of the nationalist movement against the Magyars from 1848 on. They are rich in minerals—gold, silver, lead, copper, etc.—which have been exploited since Roman days; indeed, some of our most interesting Roman business documents, dating from the third century, were found in the Transylvanian mines.

Far off to the southeast, beyond the Wallachian plains and the Danube, we come across hills in the Dobrudja which belong to another system. In the northern Dobrudja they rise to 1600 or 1700 feet, and are thickly wooded with oak and beech scrub;

they are remnants of the so-called Chimerical Mountains, to which belong scattered hills in eastern Moldavia, the Snake Island (Insula Serpilor) out at sea, and the mountains of the Crimea. Further south in the Dobrudja we have a continuation of the Bulgarian uplands—rolling ridges of 1200-1300 ft.—which terminate abruptly, both above the Danube and the Black Sea, in cliffs 300 or 400 ft. high. The region between Rustchuk and Balchik is largely covered with close thickets (hence the name Delior-man, bad woods) and deep coulees and arroyos, which are dry for most of the year; towards the sea the land is mainly bare, with only the vegetation of the steppe. It forms a bleak contrast to Roumania proper.

CHAPTER IV

PRODUCTS AND RESOURCES OF THE MOUNTAINS; PETROLEUM

THE mountain-climber in Roumania comes upon the same plants and animals in the highest Carpathians that he would find in the Alps or the Rockies. The short sweet grass which grows to the foot of the cliffs is cropped even yet in remote fastnesses of the mountains by the chamois and mountain goat; deer and bear are still met with quite plentifully, and one hears of occasional wolves; foxes, badgers and smaller game are found everywhere. In the highest Alpine zone, the trees dwindle away to an occasional dwarf juniper; saxifrages and gentians brave the snow-squalls; wild strawberries, cranberries, bilberries, raspberries and blackberries solace the shepherd who brings up his flocks in summer from the plains along the Danube. Further down are magnificent pastures, used since time immemorial not merely for flocks but also for herds of cattle. Then come splendid forests of larch and spruce, the latter descending to about 2000 ft. These have been scandalously exploited near roads and water-courses, and the war caused much destruction, but the government Forestry Department is making progress with the situation. Below the spruce comes the beech belt; these forests descend to about 1000 ft. above sea level, and are so characteristic of the lower Car-

pathians that the district of the Bucovina gets its name from them. Hemlock, maple, birch, hornbeam, ash and other familiar trees of the temperate zone are mingled with the beech; in fact, I have never seen a forest or even a landscape in Roumania which could not be closely paralleled in one or another section of the United States.

The foot-hills and much of the plains were originally thickly covered with woods of several different kinds of oak, interspersed with elm, linden, sycamore, ash, maple, hornbeam, hazel, alder, cornel, poplar and willow. But the need of fire-wood, particularly during the war, has made ravages in these forests; and the great extension of arable land during the last half-century has been largely at their expense.

In Roumania proper, 17% of the area (nearly seven million acres) was still timbered fifteen years ago; this has now shrunk to about five million acres; 42% of this is state property. In 1912, a typical year, 300,000 tons of wood were exported. Transylvania, the Banat and the Maramuresh have about nine million acres under forest, of which over half is beech; spruce and fir account for a quarter of the total. In the Bucovina there are over 1,100,000 acres of woodland; Bessarabia has about 625,000 acres. Saw-mills abound; in Roumania there are over 200 of considerable size, a number of wood-working establishments, and several paper-mills utilizing the spruce. Bessarabia has only a few wood-working plants, and six or seven small paper-mills. In the Bucovina, the industry is somewhat better developed; violin sounding-boards are a specialty. The Banat (1919) has 14 establishments, employing

1029 hands. In the Crishana and Maramuresh there were in 1914 17 steam saw-mills, with 6000 employés, and 16 wood-working establishments, employing 1700. Transylvania has many saw-mills and several furniture factories. It is to be hoped that the enforcement of the forestry rule—not over one-thirtieth of the timber of any tract to be cut in any one year—will save the Roumanian forests and enable the industries based on lumber to develop as they should.

In the spring the Roumanian hill-sides are white with the blossoms of the orchards, and sweet with the fragrance of the vineyards in bloom. It has the fruit possibilities of California; the cold winter prevents the growth of citrus fruits, to be sure, and other sub-tropical products, but gives a flavour and a tang which more than compensate. Roumanian grapes are famous, and the wine industry is susceptible of great development. A Rhine-wine expert says: "I have rarely seen in any country a vine so marvellous and rich as in Roumania. The vineyards are a picture that remind one of the Promised Land, of the prophecies of Joshua and Caleb. The clusters hang down compact, sweet as honey, marvellous in shape, size and quality." I found the table grapes in Bucharest both handsome and delicious. Unfortunately the phylloxera ravaged the country some forty years ago, and the vineyards have never been entirely replanted. Still, Greater Roumania is the fourth wine-producing country in Europe, coming after Italy (10 million acres of vineyards, 31 million hectolitres of wine—a hectolitre is 26.417 gallons), France (4¼ million acres, 56 million hectolitres) and Spain (3¾

million acres, 17 million hectolitres). The former kingdom has some 225,000 acres of vineyards, and produces a million and a half hectolitres of wine; Bessarabia, which in the 'eighties lost half her vines from the phylloxera, has now (1918) 100,000 acres of vineyards, producing half a million hectolitres; it is interesting to note that though American vines occupy only $\frac{3}{8}$ of the total area, they furnish more than half the wine. The Bucovina has only 100 acres in vineyards; but the Banat has about 75,000, yielding over 200,000 hectolitres. Transylvania has about 43,000, producing 135,000 hl. of wine. In the Maramuresh (with which I customarily include the Crishana) there are about 45,000 acres. The total area, therefore, in vineyards in Greater Roumania is about half a million acres, with a production of 4,000,000 hl. in good years. Some excellent wines are made; but in general the Roumanian peasant has preserved antiquated methods, and there is great room for improvement.

The characteristic fruit of Roumania is the plum; nearly 200,000 acres are given up to plum orchards; they are chiefly used for the tzuica, the plum brandy which is the favourite drink of the peasant; and the fragrance of fermenting masses of plums accompanies the autumn traveller everywhere among the hills. Fruit-canning and drying establishments are greatly needed; what can be done was shown by the Germans during their occupation of the country. As if by magic, four large establishments arose, employing some 1200 hands each, which turned these plums into marmalade for the German army. Some of the plums are dried into prunes in primitive fashion

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on the ground; they are sweet and meaty, but need endless washing before they are usable. Pears, peaches, apricots, apples and other fruits grow well, but need improved methods of growing and packing, and better sorts. The new provinces are also good fruit country; witness the figures:

Bessarabia (1918)

Fruit	Area of orchards	Production
Plums	12,500 acres	11,700,000 lbs.
Apples and pears . . .	6,500 "	26,500,000 "
Apricots	1,250 "	2,070,000 "
Cherries	3,250 "	4,400,000 "
Walnuts	3,750 "	8,000,000 "
Peaches, etc.	4,000 "	2,000,000 "

The Bucovina has altogether 20,000 acres in orchards, mainly of apples and plums. In the Banat a fruit-tree census was taken several years ago; there were:

Fruit	Number of individual trees	Fruit	Number of individual trees
Apples	810,118	Plums	4,673,113
Pears	239,542	Walnuts	202,847
Cherries	622,053	Almonds	9,177
Peaches	183,187	Chestnuts	30,323
Apricots	103,247	Mulberries	827,425

According to the latest available Hungarian figures, Transylvania had 230,000 acres of orchards. In the Crishana and Maramuresh, the same census gave 95,000 acres in fruit culture.

The mountains and hills furnish Roumania not merely with pasture-land, forests, orchards and vineyards; they hold her wealth of minerals, salt and oil. Doubtless the mines were a great attraction for the Romans; at any rate, they developed them extensively, and connected them with the administrative centres by excellent roads. The gold mines were famous in early times, and are exploited even yet; there are two chief groups, one in northern Transylvania, at Baia mare, Baia de sus, Fernezei, Borsha, etc., at the foot of Mt. Rodna, and down in the Metallic Mountains, at Roshia, Abrud, Ofenbaia, etc. They yield some 3000 kilograms (6600 lbs. avoirdupois) a year. The ore is crushed in a mill and carried over woollen blankets by a swift current of water; the particles of gold, which remain in the wool, are rescued by quicksilver. Some 9000 kilograms of silver are extracted from the same and similar ores. There are important mines of manganese at Iacobeni in the Bucovina, and of lead in the Western Mountains. There are several copper mines—at Balan, near the headwaters of the Olt; near Baia de sus; in the Western Mountains; in the Luisenthal in the Bucovina; and at Altan-tepe in the northern Dobrudja; but their combined output does not begin to meet the needs of the country. It is iron and coal, salt and oil that form the mineral wealth of Roumania, and assure her future. The chief iron mines are at Dognacia, Moravitza, Bogsha and Nadrag in the Banat, and at Ghelar in Transylvania; they produce about 250,000 metric tons (a metric ton is a few pounds over a long ton) per annum. What gives these iron mines their value is that

they lie next door to coal deposits; the combination has built up a number of great iron works; there are five in the Banat, employing 11,000 labourers; the largest, at Reshitza, uses 18,000 hp. and accounts for 8000 workmen. Transylvania has six large iron and steel works, with 4500 hands. The Banat coal mines, producing a good quality of soft coal, are at Anina, Bogsha, Bersasca, Doman, Secul, Moldova, etc.; they turn out about 300,000 tons a year. In the upper Jiu valley, at Petrosheni, Livăzeni, Petrila, Lupeni, over 1,200,000 tons of excellent lignite are mined every year; lignite of poorer quality is found in the upper Trotush valley; and in the Ialomitza and Argesh valleys they mine some 100,000 tons yearly of inferior lignite. There is one mine of excellent anthracite, at Shchela (in the county of Gorj), but its production is infinitesimal.

The Roumanian oil deposits lie mainly in three zones; the first, and by far the most important, extends from the Bucovina along the foot-hills down to the Dâmbovitza; the second is in the county of Vâlcea, bounded on the north by the Carpathians between the Jiu and the Olt, and on the south by the hills of Oltenia; the third is in the Maramuresh, along the Theiss valley. In the former Kingdom, the chief producing district is that of Prahova, north of Bucharest, with some 900 wells which produced a million and a half tons in 1914, of which 900,000 came from the new Moreni region; Câmpina, Bustenari, Tzintea and Baicoi are the other important centres. East of this lies the Buzeu district, with 120 wells and a production of 150,000 tons. The Dâmbovitza region produced 50,000 tons before the

war, from 75 wells; one of its centres, Schiuri-Razvad, was developed under the Germans during the war, to a daily capacity of 40 cars; all this region is State property, and its proper exploitation for the benefit of the State has been one of the chief solitudes of the Averesco Ministry. The fourth important district is that of Bacau in Moldavia, with 378 wells, producing about 50,000 tons. It is calculated that there are about 50,000 acres of oil-lands in Roumania, and perhaps 750,000 acres of probable oil-lands, of which only about six or seven thousand are exploited as yet. The oil is found in Tertiary deposits, in Wallachia in the upper layers of sand (Pliocene and Miocene), in Moldavia (where one must sometimes bore over 3000 ft.) in the lower strata of sandstone. The average boring is about 1500 ft.

These wells were not exploited till the middle of the 19th century, and it was not till 25 years ago that they reached international prominence; now Roumania stands next to the United States, Mexico and Russia as an oil country, with a total output of well toward two million tons. Before the war, the capital invested was about 530,000,000 francs, of which only 33,600,000 (6.3%) was Roumanian; one-half was British-French-Dutch, 30.6% German or Austrian, and about 11% American. But the Germans had the best fields, notably the Roumanian Star property, at Câmpina. In the general destruction of the oil wells, carried out under British supervision during the German advance, to prevent their utilizing this resource, the Roumanian Star fields lay on the line of retreat of the Roumanian army. They



OIL WELLS AT CAMPINA



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were therefore used by the Roumanians to the last moment; the Germans came on so rapidly that there was no time for any but superficial wrecking; and within a few weeks the Germans had the property again in good shape. As the Roumanian Star was a German company, the Germans developed it greatly during their occupation; at the end of the war they had installed a new refinery which practically doubled its capacity. When I was there in November, 1919, they were shipping out oil, gasoline, etc., to the capacity of the railroad to handle, and could have doubled their output, in spite of labour troubles. They were operating with the former technical staff, but under Roumanian control. Hardly another plant had recovered, and the representatives of a well-known American company told me that not a single well of theirs was producing as yet; the Germans had stripped their plants of everything utilizable, with special relish.

Reconstruction has been greatly delayed by the added expense of boring, etc.; before the war it cost 150—200,000 lei to drive and equip a well; now it costs five or six million. The transportation crisis has also greatly hampered rehabilitation. Nevertheless, by the summer of 1921 production had risen to over one-half the pre-war standard (Jan.-March, 1921, there were exported 7405 metric tons of crude oil, 5553 of residues, 27,760 of kerosene, 12,296 of gasoline and benzine, and 6101 of mineral oils, a total of 59,115 tons, as contrasted with 32,421 for the same period of 1920). This surplus goes mainly to Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia and Italy; Egypt is also a

good customer. Under present conditions, Roumania does not produce much more oil than she herself needs; and intensification of production, with properly regulated participation of foreign capital, is the aim of the Government. The abundance of cheap fuel will greatly stimulate Roumania's manufacturing development.

The destruction of the oil-wells during the war, and the defeat of Germany, which had so much capital invested in Roumania, raised problems solved in part by the San Remo Conference of April, 1920. It was there agreed, according to the *Paris Temps*, that the British and French Governments would support their respective citizens in all common engagements undertaken with the Roumanian Government, with a view to the acquisition of oil concessions, shares or other interests belonging to enemy subjects or companies which have been sequestered, e. g., Roumanian Star (Steaua Româna), Concordia, Vega, etc., forming in Roumania the oil groups of the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto-Gesellschaft, as well as other interests which might be obtained; and to the concession of oil lands belonging to the Roumanian State. The shares and other acquisitions were to be divided equally between French and English interests, which were to participate equally in the capital invested, in the boards of directors, etc. In the specific case of the Roumanian Star, the oldest and largest of the Roumanian companies, a holding company was formed which acquired about 100,000 shares at a price of 75 millions of Swiss francs; 51% of the capital is Roumanian, provided by a syndicate of important banks (Banca Marmorosch Blank &

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Co., Banca Românească, Banca de Credit Român, Banca Generală and Banca Tzărănească); of the remainder, 24½% is English (Stern Bros., Anglo-Persian Petroleum and the Barnum Co.) and 24½% French (Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Banque Mallet, Banque Mirabeau and the Mercier and Champin groups). The cash paid to the Deutsche Bank went in large part to German reparations account; and the participation of Roumanian capital on so generous a scale was made possible by British credits for the amount needed. It is thus that Great Britain resumes her world financial leadership. In April, 1921, one of the leading British companies (Roumanian Consolidated Oil-Fields) reported that two million pounds had been put into the work of reconstruction; Roumania had promised about a million pounds reparations for damages and France and Great Britain had acknowledged their liability for a sum of at least 300,000 pounds. Seventeen wells were actually producing and 12 being drilled; tanks to hold 20,000 tons were already up, and 80 miles of pipe-line working. The largest Roumanian company, the Petrol Block, formed in 1918 by the Banca Marmorosch Blank & Co. by uniting five large refineries, capitalized at thirty million lei, reports in May, 1921, that its refineries then had a capacity of 1500 tons a day, one-half the total product of Roumania. This company is increasing its capital from 30 to 100,000,000 lei (80 million paid in); its last three dividends have been of 10, 30 and 40%; it owns 700 tank cars, has bought four million lei worth of oil lands, and has already amortized over half its total expenditures for land, drilling, reser-

voirs, refineries, etc. The French-Roumanian "Columbia," capitalized at 100 millions, reports a net profit for 22 months of 64,170,689 lei. Other companies also report rapid progress toward normal conditions.

Natural gas exists also in Roumania, but apparently only in Transylvania, along the Sărmăș and at Săn-Martin, between the Mureș and Someș, along the railroad which connects Ludăș and Bistrița; as yet it has not been greatly utilized. The flow is said to be about a million cubic metres a day.

The Roumanian state possesses an inestimable treasure in its great salt deposits; they were a state monopoly long before the days of the Kingdom. There are extensive beds in Transylvania; but the most famous mines are in the Carpathian foot-hills of Moldavia and Wallachia, especially near the great bend of the range; over 50 large deposits are known in these foot-hills. That of Turn-Ocna is about 2½ miles long, 1000 ft. wide and 350 ft. thick—a mass of about 250,000,000 metric tons, of which only one million has been extracted as yet. A visit of 1919 to the salt mines of Slănic, which are easily accessible from the capital, was most interesting. At the mine's mouth is a store-house, full of what seem to be large clear blocks of ice—so pure is the rock-salt. Down a couple of hundred feet in an elevator, and we were in a great gallery, from which a long staircase took us down to the main gallery of these mines—a huge cathedral nave, some 450 feet long, 200 ft. wide and 250 ft. high! The ceiling and the walls had been hewn out as carefully as if planned by an architect; the total effect was im-

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pressive in the extreme. Convict labour used to be employed, but was given up on account of its inefficiency. In the present low estate of Roumanian exchange, salt and oil form valuable commodities for barter; I met a Vienna railroad man who had come up to accompany a train of 50 cars of oil and gasoline, which the Austrians were paying for with steel manufactures; and the Greek Government took salt in payment for Macedonian tobacco, purchased by the Roumanian tobacco monopoly. This salt might be made the basis of profitable chemical manufacture; as yet it is utilized almost exclusively for table and culinary purposes.

As might be expected, there are numerous salt springs; at Slănic I saw a salt lake which has resulted from the overflowing of a former digging; and there are also many mineral springs with other components. The best known are the hot springs at Mehadia (Baths of Hercules), which are over 140° and have a good bathing establishment. Roumania has also many excellent stone quarries, of granite, limestone, marble, cement rock, etc.

CHAPTER V

THE PLAINS; ROUMANIAN AGRICULTURE

ROUMANIA'S mineral wealth is immense, as we have seen; but her greatest treasure is the rich soil of her endless plains. These are the product of decomposition of soft and recent rocks, or of alluvial deposit. The famous black earth of the Baragan, the Burnas, the Budjac, the southern Dobrudja, and northeastern Moldavia and Bessarabia, as well as the plains of the Theiss, is the same that enriches the Ukraine; it is rich in humus, which rises to 8% of the total at Dorohoi, Covurlui and Buzeu. Indeed, the peasant rarely uses artificial fertilizer, but merely alternates Indian corn and wheat. These same districts have (further to the south) a red soil (the so-called chestnut earth) which is nearly as rich; the soil of the hills and forests is a deeper red, full of iron oxide.

The black earth is the soil for cereals, *par excellence*. Wheat, barley, rye and oats have been grown here since time immemorial; and it has proved so suited to maize that corn meal mush is now the Roumanian national dish, as inevitable on the tables of aristocracy and peasantry as is oatmeal in Scotland. Four-fifths of all the farm land of Roumania is given up to these cereals; in summer, the billowy wheat-fields and the streamers of the corn give one the illusion of being in Illinois or Iowa. Wheat occupies about ten million acres, producing over 140,-

000,000 bu. on the average; corn, the same area, and about 170,000,000 bu.; much fodder corn is grown also. Barley accounts for three million acres, with a yield of fifty million bu. Oats are grown almost exclusively in northern Moldavia, Bessarabia and southern Dobrudja; they occupy a slightly greater area than barley. Rye is the staple grain of Bessarabia, in which lie 2,500,000 of the 3,700,000 acres devoted to its cultivation. Millet is grown and consumed almost entirely by the Mohammedan population of the southern Dobrudja.

Eighty-two per cent of the population of Roumania being farmers, and the land having been (as in Russia) largely in the hands of great proprietors, the agrarian question has bulked large in Roumanian history. This is not the place to trace the progress of its solution. Suffice it to say that shortly before the war only 40% of the twenty million acres of cultivated acres was in the hands of small owners (under 25 acres); these peasant farmers were 1,615,302 in number. Four thousand seventy one persons owned all the rest (deducting state lands). To remedy this, the government (when interrupted by the war) was reducing all estates to a maximum of 1235 acres, and expropriating for the peasants all crown lands and those owned by public institutions, banks, foreigners and absentee landlords who leased their land. This land was not confiscated, but was to be paid for by the peasant in 50 annual instalments; he pays 5% interest, and the state made an initial payment of 35% of the value of the land. As a result of the war (which for Eastern Europe meant particularly a settlement of the agrarian, suffrage and edu-

cational questions) similar steps have been taken in Bessarabia, the Bucovina and Transylvania, where additional feeling had been caused by the difference in nationality between the Roumanian peasants and the Russian or Hungarian land-owners. This measure greatly lessened the income of the churches in Transylvania, as their property was largely in land, and caused much anti-Roumanian propaganda, especially on the part of Unitarians in the English-speaking world; but it proved just the means needed to win the loyalty of the peasantry to the new régime.

This wide cultivation of cereals gives a large surplus for export in normal years; Roumania ranks with the United States, Russia, Canada and the Argentine as a source of the world's bread. In 1913 the total value of Roumania's cereal production was 883,000,000 lei (francs); 448,000,000 francs' worth was exported, wheat and corn accounting for 358,000,000 francs. In the former kingdom, the average wheat crop for 1911-15 was about 75,000,000 bu.; for 1919, it was nearly 50,000,000; the rye crop for 1919 (above 3½ million bu.) was some 300 cars above the average; but barley dropped to less than half the normal, amounting in 1919 to something under 15,300,000 bu.; oats gave about 55% of normal (in 1919, about 14,000,000 bu.). But the corn crop was large enough to make 1919 a distinctly good year (as also in Jugo-Slavia); export was forbidden, to be sure, in order to guard against a partial failure in 1920, the fall sowing of winter wheat having been under ¼ of normal, owing to the very wet autumn, followed by an early winter. 1920 proved to be a rather dry year, and the drought

persisted into the Spring of 1921. In April, 1921, the Government had to forbid cereal export for the moment, excepting merely the 20,000 cars of wheat pledged for the French loan; but rains in May caused the prediction of a fair crop, with a small surplus for export. There is said to be a considerable accumulation of stocks in interior grain elevators, which will become available as the transportation crisis disappears. The 1920 crop was stated to be, in the former Kingdom, 796,609 metric tons of wheat, 66,123 of rye, 542,130 of barley, 459,926 of oats and 2,150,361 of Indian corn; in Greater Roumania, 1,915,631 tons of wheat, 262,014 of rye, 1,466,840 of barley, 893,304 of oats and 3,308,593 of corn. The great improvement in the general situation is shown by comparing the import and export figures for the first six months of 1919 and 1920 (in tons):

	1919		1920	
	Imported	Exported	Imported	Exported
Wheat . . .	22,162,076	0	1,050,100	227,900
Flour	127,817,822	0	203,900	34,400
Rye	2,005,307	0	52,100	0
Barley . . .	310	0	45,000	0
Oats	0	0	3,200	5,000
Maize . . .	2,920,996	0	8,534,200	26,359,800
Rice	692,666	0	7,943,600	1,600

It is striking to see how slight is the cultivation of other crops. The 1919 colza crop amounted to 2,168,000 bu., 560,000 bu. over the average; flax gave only 210,000 bu. of linseed; the five-year average was about 450,000. The pea crop was about 245,000, less than one-third of the normal. Hemp is raised in general only to supply local needs. The sugar-beet industry is growing rapidly. Tobacco

being a government monopoly, may be planted only in certain restricted areas, where supervision is easy. Beans are grown chiefly in connection with corn; the average yield is some 8,500,000 bu., which allows a surplus for export. Alfalfa; clover and other forage plants are widely cultivated (a million acres) in the Theiss plain, Transylvania and the Bucovina; but the peasant in the former Kingdom, wedded to the culture of cereals, puts only about 300,000 acres into forage. Potatoes are widely grown in Western Roumania (the Banat, Crishana, Transylvania and the Bucovina)—some 250,000 acres—but in Roumania proper they are not much raised except (like beans) in the corn-fields.

When we examine the yield per acre, it is evident that Roumanian agriculture, like that of the United States, can be greatly improved. In the former Kingdom, an acre of wheat yields only about one-half the number of bushels grown in England or Germany, and two-fifths the Belgian or Dutch product, and the proportion holds almost exactly for barley and oats. Bessarabia is in much the same agricultural stage; Transylvania and the Banat are much more advanced, getting 50 or 60 per cent more grain for the same area. Much is being done by co-operative buying of selected seed by municipalities and societies; but it is observed in Roumania, just as in Russia, that the cutting up of large estates, in which great economies of operation were possible, is followed by a lowering of the yield. Efforts are being made to offset this by combinations of individual small owners for the purchase and use of tractors, threshing-machines, etc. The principle of

peasants' co-operatives, so widely developed in Russia, has made headway in Roumania also, especially in Bessarabia, where over 500 have been organized.

Taken as a whole, Roumania is an important stock-raising country; but the former Kingdom, which specializes in cereals, was far poorer in cattle than the new provinces before the war, and will not soon recover from the enemy's depredations; Czernin boasted that the Central Powers had stripped Roumania of 82% of all her cattle, all her sheep and all her horses. Some of this stock was left in Transylvania, which was actually richer in stock at the end of the war than at the beginning. Hungary had long laid a tariff embargo on Roumanian stock, in order to protect the Hungarian industry; and this measure had contributed powerfully to turn Roumanian agriculture into raising wheat and corn rather than animals. Now there is an excellent opportunity to improve quality and increase the numbers of Roumanian stock. Only a century ago, Moldavian horses were famous; the Porte specified that the Principalities should send a considerable number of Roumanian horses along with the tribute. Indeed, the Turks had a proverb: Persian youths and Moldavian horses are the noblest. To-day it is Bessarabia, the Dobrudja and the Wallachian and Theiss plains which produce the best horses; there are about 2,500,000 head in Greater Roumania. The Roumanian Government maintained studs with English stallions of Arab blood at Cisleu and Constantza, and held an annual horse fair and horse races at the Black Sea city; there are also two racing seasons annually in Bucharest, and the excellent

Jockey Club has maintained a studbook for forty years.

The Roumanian peasant prefers oxen to horses for the work of the farm; the best picture of rural Roumania is Alecsandri's *Plugurile*:

Noroc bun! Pe câmpul neted ies Românii cu-a lor pluguri!
Boi plăvani în câte shease trag, se opintesc în juguri,
Bratzul gol apasă 'n coarne; fierul taie brazde lungi
Ce se 'nshiră 'n bătătură ca lucioase negre dungi.

Treptat câmpul se umbreshte sub a brazdelor desime;
El resună 'n mare sgomot de voioasa argătzime,
Iar pe lanul ce în soare se svîntează fumegând
Cocostârcii cu largi pasuri calcă rar shi meditând.

Acum soarele-i l'amiazăzi; la pământ omul se 'ntinde:
Cârd de fete shi neveste de la sat aduc merinde;
Plugul zace'n lan pe coaste, iar un mândru flăcăuash
Mâna boii la isvoare shi îi pashte la imash.

Sfântă muncă dela tzeară, isvor sacru de rodire,
Tu legi omul cu pământul în o dulce înfrățire!
Dar lumina amurgeshte, shi plugarii cătră sat
Haulind pe lângă juguri se întorc dela arat.

TRANSLATION

Good luck! Over the level plain go out the Roumanians
with their ploughs!

The blond oxen, six by six, pull, strain in their yokes,
The bare arm presses on their horns; the iron cuts long
furrows

Which thread themselves on a woof like gleaming black
stripes.

THE PLAINS

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Gradually the plain becomes shadowed under the closeness
of the furrows;

There resounds a loud clamour of the cheerful farm-hands,
While over the field which in the sun is drying itself,
steaming,

The storks with long strides step far apart and ruminating.

Now the sun is at midday; on the ground man lays himself
at length;

Bevies of girls and wives bring lunch from the village;

The plough lies in the field on a ridge, while a stout young
fellow

Urges the cattle to the spring and sets them grazing in the
pasture.

Sainted labour of the earth, holy spring of fruitfulness,

You bind man with the soil in a sweet brotherhood!

But the light is waning, and the ploughmen towards the
village

Singing beside the yokes return from ploughing.

Transylvania is famous for its large handsome oxen, with wide spreading horns; they remind one of the Tuscan cattle. Another well-known breed is the Moldavian, raised in the region between the Pruth and the Sereth. In general, while Roumanian cattle are excellent for the work of the farm, there is room for improvement in the breeding of beef steers and milch cows. The milk problem is a serious one in all the cities of Roumania, and was not helped by the fixing of maximum prices. The general condition of cattle raising is shown by the fact that in the former Kingdom, while there were 2,700,000 head of cattle in 1860, and 2,937,857 in 1916, the number had dropped to 1,990,556 in 1919; 87%

belonged to the peasants. Bessarabia had a similar experience; the number of cattle and buffaloes, which had been 525,000 in 1905, dropped to 481,000 in 1910. With the prohibition of export after the beginning of the war, it rose to 725,000 in 1916; but the operations of the armies then reduced it in 1918 to 483,000. In 1919 it was 662,958. For the Bucovina I have no figures later than 1910, when there were 335,000; the successive waves of Russian and Austrian troops which desolated that unhappy province, must have lowered these totals enormously. The Banat had 483,000 in 1911; Transylvania, 1,178,000, of which 35% were indigenous or Berne, Simenthal or Pinzgau breeds; 48% of Hungarian stock; 1% Innthal; 5% of other breeds, and 10% buffaloes. Transylvania had a well-developed creamery system; in 1911 there were 67 co-operative creameries, with 7621 members and 10,803 cows. The Crishana and Maramuresh returned 740,000 cattle in that census of 1911, more than half of Hungarian breed; in the Maramuresh, 22% were of Innthal stock; there were only 20,000 buffaloes. Numbers have doubtless considerably increased since 1911 in all these former Hungarian dominions, untouched by the war.

The typical Roumanian through the centuries has been the shepherd; but the nineteenth century thrust his picturesque figure into the background, as sheep-raising and pasturing grew less and less important. Nevertheless, Alecsandri's verses apply constantly:

Privitzi pe cele dealuri înalte, înverzite,
Pe-acele largi poiene cu flori acoperite,

THE PLAINS

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Privitzi, străini de lume, păstorii cei Români
Aproape de-a lor turme păzite de-ai lor câni
Trăind o viață lină în tainica natură,
Cu buciul în mână, cu fluerul la gură,
Cereasca limpezime, precum într'un isvor,
Alin se oglindeshte în sufletele lor . . .

Look upon those high and verdant hills,
On those broad glades, covered with flowers,
Look at those Roumanian shepherds, strangers to the world,
Beside their flocks guarded by their dogs,
Leading a gentle life in mysterious nature,
With horn in hand, flute at their lips,
Heavenly clearness, as within a spring,
Mirrors itself calm in their spirits.

To their neighbours, especially the Magyars, Roumania is still thought of as a nation of shepherds; but it is perhaps true to-day only of the scattered Aroumanians of the Balkans that the pasturing of flocks remains the chief national occupation. In Roumania itself, it has long since given place to agriculture. But the consciousness that during the invasions and the Middle Ages, these wandering shepherds preserved the Roumanian language and national feeling, is alive in every Roumanian, and still invests them with romance, which is enhanced by their picturesque costumes.

At the beginning of the war, there were over seven million sheep in the former Kingdom. Bessarabia had seen a sudden jump from 1,392,000 in 1910 to 2,194,000 in 1916; but the number fell to 1,593,925 in 1919. In the Bucovina there were in 1910 only 189,000. The Banat in 1911 had 1,185,-

796 (and 49,000 goats); Transylvania, 2,104,000 (and 125,000 goats), of which less than 5% were merinos; 90% were tzurcana (coarse wool), and tzigae (fine wool); 5½% of English or other stock, bred for mutton. In the Crishana and Maramuresh, which in 1911 counted 828,000 sheep, there is a much higher proportion (41%) of merinos, and just under 6% of mutton sheep of English or other stock.

This wool is largely made into home-spuns by the peasants; the distaff and spinning wheel are still to be seen in almost every cottage. In Roumania proper, there are only about a dozen woollen mills. The export of wool and woollens amounted in 1914 to \$684,214; in the same year, Roumania imported \$7,088,078 worth! It is the same story with hides and leather; the export was \$378,530, the importation \$4,301,760! Roumania devoted her attention to cereals and oil (87% of the total exportation), almost as exclusively as Cuba does to sugar and tobacco. Bessarabia in 1900 had only one woollen mill, with 10 hands! The industry was better developed in the former Hungarian domain, but the census figures at my disposal make no distinction between woollen and other textile mills, of which there were in 1911, e. g., in the Banat 21, employing 4585 hands. In this as in other spheres, it is clear that Roumania, having passed from the pastoral to the agricultural stage, is standing at the threshold of a great industrial development, favoured both by her position at the mouth of the Danube and the gates of Russia and the Near East, and by her wealth of willing and intelligent labour. She will certainly

follow the path already trodden by her Romance sisters of the West, Spain and Italy, with whom she has so many points of resemblance.

To return to stock-raising: Roumania, like Russia, is a great hog-producing country, with perhaps four million hogs at the beginning of the war. Those of the mangalitza (charcoal) breed, with white and curly bristles, are quite comparable to York or Berkshire. Donkeys and mules are not so common as in Italy or Spain. Poultry-raising is in general merely an adjunct to the farmyard, and has great possibilities.

We must not leave the subject of agriculture without some mention of bee-keeping, which is widely diffused through Roumania, though not as it was a century or two ago, when Roumanian honey was famous, and the wax found a market as far west as Venice. The industry is better developed in the Banat than elsewhere in Roumania. It leads also in silk-culture, which is apparently dying in Roumania as in the United States; in 1910, the Banat produced 1,423,400 lbs. of cocoons; in 1911, 1,381,600; in 1913, 1,168,200. Chinese and Japanese competition cut in more and more deeply, as in Italy. The government is encouraging silk culture by devoting a special school to it, at Pietrosani.

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ROUMANIAN PEOPLE

ROUMANIA arose from the waters about the middle of the Tertiary period; but though we find traces of man of the cut-stone period in Russia and in Hungary, little or nothing has yet come to light to prove his existence in Roumania. But in the neolithic times, the civilization which flourished about the Ægean had already made its way here; and Cucuteni, near Jassy, has become famous for its painted potsherds and terra-cotta "owl's-head" statuettes. These are rough effigies of human beings, with the body often decorated with geometric designs. Similar figurines have been found not only in Serbia and Bosnia, but even in Asia Minor. Even at that early time, the primitive Roumanians were a mixed race; both long and short skulls were brought to light at Cucuteni.

Unfortunately, not enough material is as yet available to enable us to trace the early history of Roumania as we can of France, Spain or Italy. When we reach the period of the ancient historians, we find this quarter of the world occupied by the Thracians. All we can say is that the mountainous region was inhabited by taller types; like the plain-dwellers, they had in general short, broad skulls, long-skulled individuals being very scarce even yet in Roumania. The primitive Roumanian would seem to have been of this tall brachycephalic Alpine subspecies, with a straight nose, and doubtless with dark hair and eyes;

blonds are much rarer to-day in Roumania than in Bulgaria or Serbia—an incidental proof how little the ethnic type was affected by the Germanic and Slav invasions.

The branch occupying the western Balkans and the Adriatic coast was the Illyrians; those north of the Danube, in Transylvania and the Carpathian region, were the Dacians and Getæ; while the Macedonians spread over the eastern Balkans. The Macedonians were early Hellenized, and under Philip and Alexander (who is claimed as a blood-relative by the Bulgarians and Roumanians) not merely conquered Greece itself, but carried Greek civilization in every direction. Greek traders had been active along the Black Sea much earlier. But, strangely enough, though this expansion of Macedonia made Greek the culture-language for Asia Minor and Egypt, so that the Romans never could supplant it, the sturdy Dacians north of the river were never brought to accept the Greek tongue. They maintained their independence long after the new power of the Romans had subjugated the Illyrians and the Macedonians themselves; indeed, they defeated Roman armies, and Horace keeps begging Augustus to chastise them and wipe away the stain. But it was not till Trajan's day—the beginning of the second century of our era—that the brave Dacian king Decebalus was finally vanquished and slain, after two campaigns (101-2 and 105-6). Roman colonists were brought in from all parts of the Roman dominion, and Dacia—or rather the Dacias—became provinces of the Roman Empire. They covered just about the present area of Greater Roumania—the region

bounded by Theiss, Dniester and Danube—but intense Romanization seems to have affected only the Banat, Transylvania and western Wallachia, to judge by the Roman inscriptions and relics of Roman roads. The present Dobrudja, which had been Hellenized along the coast, had come earlier under Roman sway; it was here that Ovid had been banished by Augustus to Tomi (Constantza); and his significant line

Hac arat infelix, hac tenet arma manu.

(Here ploughs the unfortunate, here he keeps holding his weapons in his hand.)

is a synthesis of the whole of Roumanian history, in its picture of the poor peasant's devotion to his plough in the midst of enemies.

For a century and a half, Dacia remained Roman, and the Latin tongue supplanted the old Thraco-Illyrian, while adopting some of its commonest words. Then under the emperor Gallienus (260-268), the Goths and other peoples north of the Black Sea began to move southwestward; and though Aurelian defeated them in 271, he yielded them Dacia north of the Danube, and withdrew the Roman legions, which had been concentrated in the Banat. The Roman colonists who wished to leave, he settled south of the river, in a province cut out of Mœsia and named Dacia Aureliana.

And now began a series of invasions which lasted a thousand years. We must imagine successive hordes of wandering barbarians, driven out of the Ukraine by similar movements up in further Russia and Turkestan, proceeding with their flocks and herds

across the Moldavian and Wallachian plains, sometimes working westward along the Danube, sometimes following the Dobrudja and Bulgarian highlands southward into the Balkans. The Goths tarried long in the land; the marvellous gold treasure of Pietroasa gives some idea of their civilization. Then came the Huns (375-453), a Mongolian race, who established their chief domain between the Theiss and the Danube; the Gepids (453-566), of Gothic stock, who ruled Dacia as allies of the Eastern Roman Empire; and the Avars (566-799), relatives of the Huns, who came in first together with Slavs. The Slavs had been filtering into the Balkans for generations, and now arrived in dense masses, appropriating permanently most of the Balkans and the region northwest of it. In 679 another people related to the Huns, the Bulgars, descended upon Dacia from the Volga district, and laid the foundations of Bulgaria; in 840 and 890 came the Hunnish Magyars and in 900 the Turkish Petchenegs; the Cumans, another Finno-Ugric tribe, arrived in 1050; the Mongolian Tartars seized the coast regions in 1241; and in the beginning of modern times, all of this corner of Europe was seized by the Turks. Mircea the Old defeated their Sultan Bajazid in 1394 near Craiova, to be sure; but the Turks speedily recovered, and pushed steadily westward, till in the battle of Mohács (1526) Suleiman the Magnificent subjugated the Hungarians, and the Turkish Empire in Europe, whose extinction we are witnessing to-day, reached its greatest extent.

During these centuries of wild commotion, what happened to the Roumanian people? That is one

of the puzzles of history, and there is a lively controversy over it. Few are the references during this period to the "Vlachs" or "Wallachs," as their neighbours called them—an interesting name, attached by Germans everywhere to the Romans and Celts, as is attested by the Welsh and the Walloons in the remote West. In 1774 a German scholar named Thumann, in his "*Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker*," expressed the opinion that the Daco-Romans—this Romanized Thracian people—had fled before the invaders up into the Carpathians and maintained themselves there as shepherds and farmers. Seven years later an Austrian officer named Sulzer brought out a work entitled "*Die Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens*" in which he tried to prove that all the Daco-Romans had withdrawn into Dacia Aureliana south of the Danube, living on in the Wallachian (Kutzo-Vlach) shepherds of the Balkans, and that it was only in quite recent times that they had spread northward again across the Danube. This thesis was eagerly seized by the Magyars, as it supported their contention that they were in possession of Transylvania and the Banat long before the Roumanians; there are some curious facts which apparently support their view—the absence of allusion to Wallachians in early documents, the presence of many Albanian words in Roumanian (which they would explain by the long sojourn of the Wallachians in the Albanian districts of the Balkans) and others. But Mommsen, Ranke and Kiepert came to Thumann's rescue, and it is to-day generally agreed (outside of Hungary!) that all through the southern

Carpathian valleys Wallachian shepherds pastured their flocks on the mountain meadows during the summer, and drove them down to the plain in the winter, while their families dwelt in scattered farms and villages along the upper water-courses, and preserved their language, costume and traditions. That seems the easiest explanation of the astounding vitality of the Roumanian people, over which have rolled so many waves of invasion without affecting their most intimate characteristics. In the severe climate and harsh living conditions of these mountain fastnesses, they gained the temper as of steel which has at length enabled them to issue victorious as the leading people, both actually and in their possibilities, of southeastern Europe.

The first documents which mention Roumanians in what later became the Kingdom, date from the 12th century—on the Galician border (1164) and down by the Black Sea (1166); a Byzantine chronicler tells us that in this latter year a Byzantine army was aided in a battle against the Hungarians by a "numerous host of Wallachs, ancient Italian colonists." Shortly afterward, two "Wallachian brothers," Peter and Asan, built up a powerful Bulgaro-Roumanian kingdom; the third brother, Ionitza (Jack), was recognized by the Pope (anxious to extend his power eastward) as Emperor of the Bulgarians and Wallachs, and succeeded in capturing Baldwin, Latin Emperor of Constantinople. But his successor, John Asan II, was beaten by the Hungarians in 1230 at Widdin, and Wallachia remained a fief of the Hungarian kings of the house of Arpád; under King Béla IV there is mention of a certain Seneslav as

Voyevode of Greater Wallachia (Muntenia, east of the Olt); his grandson, Bessarab (Roum., Basarab) established a principality of Lesser Wallachia (Oltenia, west of the Olt), and later (1290) set his capital at Argesh. From 1301-08, Hungary was without stable government, and Bessarab was enabled to establish what became the Principality of Wallachia, under nominal Hungarian overlordship. In the middle of that century, a Voyevode named Bogdan came over from the Maramuresh and founded the Principality of Moldavia, extending from the Dniester and the Carpathians to the Black Sea. These two principalities are the first flowering forth of the Roumanian people; the shepherds of the mountains have become the masters of the plain.

CHAPTER VII

HOW THE PRINCIPALITIES ROSE, DECAYED AND REVIVED, TO BECOME THE ROUMANIAN KINGDOM

IN the exhilaration of national consciousness which followed the formation of the Roumanian principalities (with which we must not forget to count their cradle, the Principality of Transylvania, and the Banat), we now witness the heroic age of Roumania. They were hemmed in by powerful enemies—Hungary, Poland, Turkey—and were inevitably drawn into their quarrels; nevertheless had they been able to keep from fighting each other, they might have advanced by centuries the day of their freedom. Mircea the Old of Wallachia (1386-1418) and Alexander the Good of Moldavia (1400-1433) began the series of able rulers; they were on good terms, and succeeded in organizing their governments well enough to fight off their common enemies. Mircea was able to annex the Dobrudja to Wallachia, and defeat Bajazid in 1394; but he had eventually to acknowledge Turkish overlordship, though it seems to have been largely nominal. His fame was soon obscured by the rise in Moldavia of one of the most remarkable rulers Europe has ever seen—Stephen the Great. During his entire reign (1457-1504), Moldavia was a powerful and independent state; he vanquished the Hungarians at Baia, the Turks at Rahova and Rasboeni, the Poles at Cos-

min; and his services in defending Christendom against the Turk were so conspicuous that in that age of great men, Pope Sixtus IV could nevertheless write him: "The victories that you have gained with equal wisdom and bravery over the unbelievers, our common foe, have raised your fame to the point that your name is on every one's lips, and all agree in exalting you." Impressed however by the enormous power of the Turks, Stephen on his death-bed advised his son Bogdan to accept their suzerainty; it was a mild yoke, since the Turks did not interfere in the administration or even choice of rulers, insisting only on the payment of an annual tribute. His Venetian physician tells us that Stephen was "much beloved of his subjects"; he built nearly 50 monasteries and churches, the decoration of which gave a strong impulse to Moldavian architecture and art; the Chronicle of the monastery of Putna, which begins in 1470, inaugurates their historical writing; there is still extant in the abbey of Humor a volume of Gospels given by Stephen, with a miniature portraying the ruler himself; and on Mt. Athos, in the Zographos monastery, are still preserved two of his banners. He ruled over part of Transylvania, and founded there the convent Vadului (of the ford), which became the first Orthodox bishopric on that side of the mountains. At his death, his Venetian physician, writing the doge, remarks: "God forbend that the Turks occupy this country, for in that case Poland and Hungary will be crushed, and then Italy and all Christendom." A contemporary Polish chronicler, Matthias of Miechow, speaks of him as a "man victorious and triumphant, who triumphed gloriously over all his

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neighbour kings; a happy man, who had in full all the gifts of fortune; those qualities which nature gives others only in part—to some understanding with shrewdness, to others the heroic virtues and justice, the most eminent of all the virtues, to others victory over their enemies—she presented him with all of these, and gave them in such measure that he shone above all others.”

Wallachia tried twice to shake off the Turkish yoke; the first effort, under Vlad Tzepesh, was unsuccessful, though he defeated the Turks in the first battle; in 1462 they occupied the country and installed a rival of his who was favourable to them. But at the end of the sixteenth century, the Wallachian throne was ascended by the other great national hero, Michael the Brave (1593-1601). The Turks were then at the height of their power; in 1526 they had completely subdued Eastern Hungary. Nevertheless Michael formed an alliance with the rulers of Transylvania and Moldavia, to shake off the Turkish yoke; he defeated their armies several times, and in the famous battles of Calugareni (1595) and Giurgiu, put to rout a far greater Turkish host, commanded by the Grand Vizier himself. That was the last time a Roumanian army defeated the Turks until the War of Independence of this last century.

Michael followed up the disaffection of his Transylvanian and Moldavian allies by occupying their territory; and for a brief moment, all of Roumania was united under one sceptre, as it never was again till 1918. But Michael had hardly entered Alba Julia (Karlsburg) in triumph in 1600, and received

the oath of allegiance of the Moldavian boyars (landed gentry) when he fell (in 1601, at Thorenburg) by an assassin's dagger; and in him perished the last of the Bessarab dynasty. The church he built in Bucharest, in connection with his monastery of Mihai-Voda (1594), was the oldest important building in the city.

With the disappearance of Michael the Brave commences an era of decadence in the two Principalities. At first, the Turkish sovereignty reasserted itself in much the same mild fashion as heretofore; but gradually the situation grew worse. Stephen Petriceicu of Moldavia (1672-1674 and 1683-1684) made an effort at independence, with Polish help, but in vain; and Gheorghe Duca of Moldavia and Sherban Cantacuzene of Wallachia even had to assist the Turks in their great expedition against Vienna (1683); they did refuse, however, actually to fight against fellow-Christians, and after his return from the defeat, Cantacuzene entered into negotiations with the Emperor at Vienna, promising to recognize his overlordship if he would guarantee Wallachia autonomy, and secure the Cantacuzene family (descended, on the female side, from the Bessarabs) in the rule over the Principality. But he died before the treaty was drawn up; and his successor, Constantine Brâncoveanu (Brancovan), had to pursue a policy friendly to the Turks, as did his Moldavian contemporary, Constantine Cantemir (1685-1693). However humiliating politically, it was a period of great artistic development; and Brancovan covered Wallachia with handsome buildings, artistically decorated. The influence of west-

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ern Europe was growing greater; with the Peace of Carlowitz (1699), the House of Austria acquired all Turkish Hungary (except the Banat and Transylvania) and became much interested in the Principalities. Russia had also announced herself at the Peace of Carlowitz as the official guardian of the Orthodox Christians under Turkish sovereignty; and in the Turco-Russian War of 1711, Demetrius Cantemir of Moldavia signed a treaty with Peter the Great, promising to support him with auxiliary troops in any war for Moldavian liberation, in return for autonomy and a promise to maintain the Cantemir dynasty. Brancovan also sent a secret mission to Russia and offered to co-operate with a victorious Russian army. But the Turks defeated the Russians at Stanileshti on the Pruth; Cantemir had to take refuge in Russia; Brancovan and his sons were taken to Constantinople and executed—a fate which overtook also his successor Stephen Cantacuzene. In his stead, and that of Cantemir, the Porte appointed Turkish envoys; and the new régime of direct Turkish exploitation had begun. This lasted from 1711 (1716) to 1821. The Principalities were governed by officials sent out from Constantinople with a numerous retinue of relatives and hangers-on; these governors had in general only one ambition, to enrich themselves at Roumanian expense, and that speedily, since the Porte appointed them in quick succession, as the result of bribery of high Turkish officers. Most of them were Greeks, from the Phanar quarter of Constantinople, and the era is therefore called the Phanariote Period. It is true that the Principalities enjoyed far greater rights and privileges than did

Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece or Hungary under the Turks; no Turkish pasha ever governed Roumania, no Turkish cadi ever presided in her law-courts; the Turks never had even the right to settle on Roumanian territory, or build a mosque; there was always a local administration, local law-courts and a local law-code. But the government was corrupt at its head, and all manner of abuses flourished unchecked. Furthermore, the Principalities were now involved in the tremendous problem which has convulsed Europe even in our own day—how to get the Turks out of Europe, and what disposal to make of their dominions. On one side of them sat Austria, on the other, Russia, each offering help to the few Roumanian patriots, but at the price of domination. Meanwhile the Turks constantly raised the tributes and increased disaffection. An occasional good ruler, like the Mavrocordats in Wallachia and Gregory M. Ghica in Moldavia, did improve the condition of the peasantry; the reforms of Constantine Mavrocordat, about 1750, which applied to both countries, allowed the peasant serfs to purchase their liberty by the payment of a sum of money, and limited the amount of produce and the number of days-work which their master might demand. Alexander Ypsilanti brought out in 1780, in Greek (which had become the language of administration and culture) and Roumanian, a law-code for Wallachia, which was done also in 1819 for Moldavia. Nevertheless the excessive tribute demanded (\$200,000 a year), and the huge sums paid by the Phanariote appointees for their nominations (over \$100,000 in some cases; 38 appointments for Wallachia in 105

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years, and 35 for Moldavia in 1101), plus special contributions constantly levied, weakened the country more and more; even the church and monastic organizations, which owned enormous estates, fell a victim to Greek cupidity. No wonder that the Principalities became a prey to the ambitions of the neighbouring states. By the Peace of Passarowitz (1718), Turkey ceded Oltenia (Wallachia west of the Olt) to Austria, together with the Banat. In the war of 1736-1739, Austria tried to annex Muntenia also, as well as Moldavia, and thus acquire all Roumania; but she met Russia's firm determination to set up both Wallachia and Moldavia as independent principalities under Russian protection; indeed, the boyars (great land-owners) of Moldavia made formal acceptance of Russian suzerainty, on condition of autonomy, with exclusion of Russians, Greeks and other foreigners from high office. But the vicissitudes of war and diplomacy proved the salvation of the Roumanians; in the Peace of Belgrade (1739), Austria had to restore Oltenia, and Russia Moldavia. In the war of 1768-1774, during which the Russian armies occupied Moldavia four long years, Russia considered this province surely hers; Austria nevertheless checkmated her, and in gratitude the Porte ceded (and this time till 1918) the northwest corner of Moldavia, called the Bucovina, with its holy city Suceava, which contains the monument of Stephen the Great. Moldavia suffered again in the war of 1806-1812, this time at the hands of Russia, who annexed the district between Pruth and Dniester, called Bessarabia, after the famous family of early rulers. Moldavia has never lost the tradition of the

ruthlessness of the Russian armies of occupation, who, as their general Kutusoff boasted, would leave the peasants only their eyes to weep with; and the Russian protectorate of the Principalities, which was formally recognized in the treaties of Kuchuk-Kainargi (1774) and of Bucharest (1812), proved still more oppressive and ruinous than the Turkish.

Matters came to a head in 1821. The peasants found the exactions laid upon them insufferable. The cultured classes, under the influence of the French Revolution and its literary sequel, had finally evolved an ambition for national existence, and at least to drive out the Greek Phanariotes, who were sucking dry the body politic. The Phanariotes themselves were engaged in a similar national undertaking, which looked to the liberation of Greece from the Turkish yoke; their leader in Roumania was Alexander Ypsilanti, son of the former governor. He entered Moldavia at the head of bands of Greek conspirators in February, 1821, and the governor joined him; they then entered Wallachia, whose governor had recently died, with the idea of mastering that province and making it their headquarters for the wresting of Greek independence from the Turk. But the fire they had lighted changed its direction and bore down upon them. The peasants as well as the upper classes rose against the Greeks; their leader was Tudor Vladimirescu, a peasant proprietor who had become a captain of gendarmes. From Oltenia he marched east at the head of several thousand adherents, and took possession in March of Bucharest. Ypsilanti tried to gain him over for the movement of Greek liberation, but received the reply: "The place

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of the Greeks is in Greece; Roumania is the home of the Roumanians." Tudor's uprising now became definitely a revolution for the improvement of the lot of the peasant and the expulsion of the Greeks. The latter were still too strong, and succeeded in capturing and executing him (May 27); but he was the martyr the cause needed, and his shade, at this centennial anniversary, must exult to see the final fruition of his reforms and his ambitions.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROUMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES AND KINGDOM UP TO THE BALKAN WARS

THE Turks had no great difficulty in crushing what remained of Tudor's rebellious forces, and in driving Ypsilanti out of Wallachia; but they were impressed with the ugly temper of the country, permitted delegations from the Principalities to present their grievances at Constantinople, and actually asked them to nominate candidates for the governorship from among their own boyars. Thus the Porte restored native rulers to the Roumanians, in the person of Gregory D. Ghica in Wallachia, and John Alexander Sturza in Moldavia. At the very beginning of their rule, some ambitious spirits projected a constitution (1822) based on Western models, though it did restrict full citizenship to the land-holding class (the boyars); but even that was far too liberal for the Russians; and in 1826 they called a convention at Akkerman, to follow up the provisions of the Treaty of Bucharest, which had given them a certain protectorate over the Principalities. The Porte agreed to allow the Wallachian and Moldavian boyars to meet and choose their princes, who should rule for seven years; and that their councils and they should at once take measures looking to some kind of a constitutional government. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 led to a great extension of Russian

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influence. The Principalities were occupied by Russian troops from 1828 to 1834; the Russians made Ghica and Sturza retire, the Russian general Palin becoming governor-general, with the title of President of the Divans (councils). A constitution elaborated at St. Petersburg was worked over and accepted by these councils; this is the famous "Regulament Organic." At the same time the councils laid a petition before the Russian Government in which they begged that the two Principalities might become one country, independent of the Porte; they asked for a prince who should not be either Turkish, Russian or Austrian, but preferably from one of the royal families of northern Germany; but this petition, repugnant to the schemes of all three neighbouring countries, was laid on the table.

Fortunately for the Principalities, the administration of the new Organic Regulation was put in the hands of an enlightened Russian general, Kisseleff, whose influence was particularly felt in the improvement of the bureaucracy and the law-courts. He began also the organization of a Roumanian army. It was provided that there should be a legislative Assembly, of boyars and clergy, and a special Assembly to choose the prince, in each country. Thus after five years of Kisseleff's government, in 1834, the Wallachians installed Alexander D. Ghica, brother of the last governor, as prince, and the Moldavians Michael Sturza. The tribute to the Porte was fixed at 6000 purses (about \$120,000); and Russian councils were left at Bucharest and Jassy, nominally to advise, but really to keep sharp watch of the new governments.

There was from the start a strong Unionist party in both countries. They succeeded in 1846 in abolishing the tariff wall between Wallachia and Moldavia; and they tried to elect Sturza to the throne of Wallachia also, at the end of the first seven-year period. The Russians preferred, however, to keep up the separate administration for the present; they allowed Ghica to remain in Moldavia, but caused the election of George Bibesco in Wallachia. Luckily they did not object to Roumanian schools in the Principalities, as they did in Bessarabia; at the National College of St. Sava at Bucharest, founded by Gregory D. Ghica, were introduced courses in law, philosophy, literature, mathematics and science; and at Jassy was established the Academia Mihaileana (of Michael) for higher studies, out of which developed the University of Jassy. Elementary schools sprang up also all over the country. Prince Ghica introduced some ameliorations also in the condition of the Jews, who offered a serious problem in Moldavia. As a result of Russian and Polish persecution, they had been coming over the border for a couple of generations, but had proved an unassimilable element, keeping up their Yiddish tongue and living apart; while the Moldavian governors allowed them to come in freely, they denied them any greater civil rights than they had in their home lands, fearing that they would enter in enormous numbers if distinctly better treated. The result was that in the freer air of Roumania, enlightened Jews demanded equal rights; and Ghica took the first steps on a path the goal of which has been reached only within the past year or two. But the lot of the

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peasants still remained a hard one, and the patriotic upper classes chafed under the Russian overlordship as much as they had under the Turkish.

Eighteen forty-eight brought this resentment out into open protest. On March 27 a public meeting at Jassy adopted a memorial, to be presented to the Prince, demanding numerous reforms, chief among which were the taking over by the State of the church and monastery properties, the income of which went to Greeks, and an improvement in the lot of the peasants. But Michael Sturza, under Russian prompting, refused to receive the memorial, and imprisoned or exiled various of the leaders, one of whom, Michael Kogălniceano, published in the Bucovina a pamphlet on the ambitions of the National Party in Moldavia. These included civic and political equality of all citizens and union of the Principalities, with relief from Russian interference. Meanwhile a more radical movement in Wallachia had succeeded in proclaiming a new constitution; George Bibesco resigned immediately after signing it; a provisional government was formed, under the presidency of the Metropolitan; the national red, yellow and blue flag (a combination of the colours of the two Principalities) was unfurled for the first time; the Organic Regulation was burned in public before the Metropolitan Church. Russia, scandalized, demanded the armed intervention of the Porte; and a bloody encounter which ensued between the Bucharest firemen and Turkish troops (September 13) gave Russia the desired pretext for interfering. Russian and Turkish soldiers quelled the uprising, and its heads disappeared, to continue their agitation

in Western Europe. This joint military occupation continued until 1851, and was followed in 1853-1854 by Russian occupation alone; during the Crimean War (1854-1856), it was Austrian troops that controlled Wallachia.

Russia's defeat rendered a new solution of the Roumanian problem inevitable; and the Congress of Paris (1856) provided for a joint protectorate of the Principalities by France, Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Piedmont and Turkey; that the Turkish suzerainty should continue, with local autonomy; that a European commission should regulate freedom of navigation on the Danube; and that Russia should give back to Moldavia three Bessarabian counties along the Danube. In 1857 the Assemblies of the two Principalities voted separately in favour of union, under a foreign prince chosen from a reigning family of northern Europe, and with a constitutional government, in which the parliament should represent all classes of the nation. In the conference of the Protecting Powers called at Paris the next year to consider these aspirations, the French and Piedmontese representatives urged the granting of all these requests; but Turkey and Austria were successful in blocking the proposals for union and for the choice of a foreign prince. The tribute was reduced to \$60,000 for Moldavia and \$100,000 for Wallachia. Meanwhile a way out of the difficulty had occurred to the Roumanians themselves; and in January, 1859, the Moldavian Col. Alexander Cuza was chosen as Prince by the Assembly of each Principality. Turkey and Austria protested at this union; but Napoleon III and Cavour

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were in favour of it; and Cuza himself, in an interview with the Sultan in 1860, succeeded in getting his consent to a complete administrative union as well, at least during Cuza's incumbency. Accordingly, on January 24, 1862, the Assemblies of Moldavia and Wallachia met in Bucharest as the first Parliament of Roumania; but Cuza continued to be termed the Prince of the United Principalities.

Cuza at once turned his hand to much-needed reforms. It is said that one-fifth of all the land belonged to the Greek clergy who had installed themselves under the Phanariotes and who sent the revenues of their property off to Greece and Constantinople. A decree of 1863 secularized the property of the monasteries, and their income reverted to the state. In 1864, Cuza and his premier Michael Kogălniceano promulgated a temporary solution of the agrarian problem; the labour and tithes exacted from the peasant by the land-owner were abolished; in their stead the peasant was to make fourteen annual payments to the proprietor, after which he was to become the owner of the land he had been cultivating as a serf. This roused so much opposition from the boyars that Cuza resorted on May 2, 1864, to a *coup d'état*; he dissolved the Parliament, and called for a plebiscite on a new constitution, called (after Italian precedent) the Statute, which provided for universal suffrage and for a second chamber to the Parliament, to consist of a senate, partly nominated by the Prince. The adoption of this constitution was ratified by the Porte and the Protecting Powers; but Cuza took advantage of the interim before elections to issue a number of

decrees—a favourite means of supplementing Parliamentary government in southern and eastern Europe. One of these decrees carried out his ideas (and Kogălniceano's) of reform in peasant ownership of land; another promulgated civil and criminal codes; another called for compulsory primary instruction and a graduated educational system culminating in the Universities of Jassy (1860) and Bucharest (1864). But the country had no adequate supply of trained and conscientious men to carry out these reforms; the new Statute satisfied neither the "whites" (reactionary conservatives) nor the "reds" (radicals); and the general dissatisfaction forced Cuza to resign on February 11, 1866. On the next day, the Parliament called Philip of Flanders (brother of King Leopold of Belgium) to the throne. The Porte and Russia protested; a meeting of the Protecting Powers was called at Paris March 10, 1866, to decide the question. John Bratiano the elder, Scarlat Fălcoiano and John Bălăceanu presented the Roumanian point of view; the Turkish and Russian representatives opposed the choice of a foreign prince; Austria and Prussia were indifferent; France, Italy and England supported the Roumanian wishes. Philip having declined the honour, France proposed Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and England seconded the nomination; on March 14, Bratiano and Bălăceanu telegraphed the news of Charles' election to Bucharest, and it was soon confirmed by a plebiscite in Roumania. Charles was a peculiarly suitable candidate, being a descendant of Frederick VI of Zollern, burgrave of Nuremburg and ancestor of the Prussian royal house,

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who had fought with Mircea the Old and Sigismund of Hungary in 1396 at Nicopolis against the Turks; and his mother, the Princess Josephine, was the daughter of Grand-Duchess Stéphanie Beauharnais of Baden, adoptive daughter of Napoleon I.

Bratiano went up to Düsseldorf and accompanied the young prince (who was 27 years old on April 8, 1866) on his journey southeastward. As Austria and Turkey were known to be opposed to Prince Charles, they travelled incognito, and entered Roumania in the second-class quarters of an Austrian Danube steamer, landing May 8 at Turn-Severin. The Porte refused to recognize the new ruler, and began massing troops on the Wallachian frontier; Charles began mobilizing the new Roumanian army, which proved to be woefully short of munitions; no outside power would grant him a loan, so supplies had to be paid for with Treasury notes. But France exercised pressure upon the Porte; and the Austrian-Prussian War distracted attention from the new country. Charles appointed a strong cabinet—Lascar Catargi (Moldavian, Conservative), Premier, and Minister of the Interior; John Bratiano (Wallachia, Liberal), Minister of Finance; Peter Mavrogheni (Moldavia, Conservative), Foreign Affairs; John Cantacuzene (Wallachia, Centre), Justice; Constantine A. Rosetti (Wallachia, Extreme Left), Cults and Public Instruction; Gen. John Ghica (Moldavia, Right Centre), War; Demetrius A. Sturza (Moldavia, Centre), Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works. They at once set to work on a new constitution, which was submitted to a Consti-

tutional Convention, called the 28th of April. This was based on that of Belgium; it was generally felt to be in advance of the times, since a country under foreign protection even yet, and with a vast uneducated element in the population, could not be expected to handle Western political institutions; and the section dealing with the Jews at once led to trouble. The new constitution provided that "religion should not be a bar to naturalization. As for the Israelites, a special law is to regulate their gradual admission to citizenship." Roumania had been a distinctively Christian state, and Mohammedans, Jews and other non-Christians did not have civic rights. The constitution proposed in 1848 had indeed proclaimed the "emancipation of the Israelites and political rights for all compatriots of whatsoever creed"; and the National Party in Moldavia that same year demanded "the gradual emanicipation of the Moldavian Israelites, by humane and progressive measures preparing them for the status of citizens useful to the commonwealth." But the rapid influx of Polish Jews—the number had grown from about 12,000 in 1800 to over 200,000 in 1866, and they had succeeded in taking over a disproportionate share of large business, banking, and especially saloon-keeping and money-lending—had created bitter feeling. A howl arose all over Moldavia when this provision looking toward citizenship for the Jews became known; the anti-Semitic feeling was skilfully inflamed by the opposition; and when the Constitutional Convention came to discussing this point, a mob wrecked the newly-built synagogue. A reaction ensued; a popular subscription was opened

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for the rebuilding of the synagogue, headed by Prince Charles with 6000 ducats; but the Convention deferred to the strong public sentiment which had been manifested, and drew the constitution in such wise that only foreigners belonging to Christian sects could acquire citizenship. The constitution was soon ratified, and the coalition cabinet resigned; John Ghica, the new Premier, succeeded in winning the recognition of Charles as hereditary prince of the United Principalities (Turkey could not stomach the name Roumania); and with a formal visit in October to the Sultan, who received him with exceptional honours, Charles (now Prince Carol I) entered upon one of the longest and happiest reigns of any European monarch. He began with a series of journeys all through the country, in one of the earliest of which he confided to the poet Alecsandri his intention of covering Roumania with a network of railroads; and he at once put his hand also to the reorganization of the army and to administrative and economic reforms. Ghica had to resign in consequence of elections which left him without a majority; in the new cabinet, Bratiano was the leading spirit, and had the satisfaction of signing the authorization for the first railroad in Roumania (Bucharest-Giurgiu, projected under Cuza, and built by an English company). This was inaugurated in 1869, together with that from Burdujeni to Roman, which was built by an Anglo-Austrian syndicate. Military reforms came to the fore with railroad building; and the situation appeared so peaceful that Charles undertook his first formal journey abroad, beginning with a visit to Czar Alexander II at Livadia; the Czar

was a connection by marriage, Charles' mother being a cousin of the Czarina. On his return he rode on the first Roumanian train to cross the Danube, and started north on the first steamer flying the Roumanian flag to pass through the Iron Gates. After visiting Francis Joseph at Vienna, he stopped some days at his ancestral castle of Weinburg, near Reineck; while there, he was offered the crown of Spain. On his declining to leave Roumania, the Spanish envoy Salazar took up those fateful negotiations with his elder brother Leopold, out of which developed the Franco-Prussian War. Charles went on to Baden-Baden, meeting there the Crown Prince Frederick, who urged him to marry Princess Elizabeth of Wied, then in her 26th year. After visiting Napoleon III at Saint-Cloud, he came to Cologne, where the princess was staying, and won her hand after a brief courtship. They were married at Neuwied November 3, 1869, and received in state at Bucharest on the 12th; the Metropolitan and his bishops blessed them at the Metropolitan Church, and fifty peasant couples from different counties of Roumania, married that same day, paraded before them in costume. The new queen, whom Europe was to know better under the name of Carmen Sylva, at once established a fund from which every year on November 12 dowries are assigned to 8 poor girls, to celebrate this anniversary. The hold the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty has on the affections of the common people of Roumania is largely due to the self-devotion and tact of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Marie.

King Charles also needed all possible tact. Rou-

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manian politics is as turbulent as Italian; the installation of many urgently needed reforms left many discontented; and there was unfortunately foreign encouragement of this discontent. The opposition tried to persuade the former ruler, Prince Cuza, to lead a movement against Prince Charles; and the French Ambassador at Vienna, in an interview at Döbling in 1868, promised him the support of France if he wanted to regain the throne. His patriotism led him to refuse, and this danger was averted; but the sudden opening of the Franco-Prussian War embarrassed Charles greatly. He was a German, of the same blood with the King of Prussia; but his Foreign Minister, P. Carp, replying to an interpellation of the Opposition regarding the government's attitude, said: "Unde este ginta latină, acolo este și inima României." (Where the Latin race is, there is also the spirit of Roumania). The failure of a Germany company which had an important railroad concession embittered feelings; the new ministry (ninth in five years!) under John Ghica and Demetrius A. Sturdza, was too weak to handle the situation; a mob attacked and wrecked the Café Capsha in Bucharest, where the German colony were toasting the Emperor on his birthday; and Charles decided to abdicate. He summoned Lascar Catargi, head of the commission which had welcomed him to Roumania, and notified him of his decision; but Catargi succeeded in dispelling his discouragement, and in forming a ministry which endured for five years (1871-1875) and installed a host of reforms. Stamp taxes and the tobacco monopoly (1872) greatly increased the revenues; Roumanian

government bonds were finally listed in the Parisian and other stock exchanges (1875); the Rural Credit Bank (1873) and the Urban Credit Bank (1874) were founded, with local capital; the railroad crisis was solved by the formation of a company called the C. F. R. (Căile Ferate Române, Roumanian Railways), which took over the lines already in existence and the new construction; by 1875 there were two junction points with Austria and one with Russia; a third connection with Austria, over the Predeal Pass, was opened in 1879. Commercial treaties were made with both countries in 1875. A law establishing the Holy Synod (1872) gave the Church an independent organization. But the chief concern of the new ruler and his cabinet was the creation of a strong and well-equipped army; and the uprising of 1875 in Turkey gave speedy justification for their solicitude. Catargi's ministry fell at this time; but fortunately for Roumania, it was succeeded by one fully as strong, under the guidance of the veteran Liberal, John C. Bratiano.

Russia had long been preparing for a Balkan War to re-establish her prestige after the stigma of the Crimean defeat. With Russian encouragement, in June 1876, Serbia and Montenegro openly declared war against Turkey. Turkish cruelty in Bulgaria, and the collapse in August of the Serbs, who were aided by Russian munitions and volunteers, portended Russian intervention. Bratiano went to Livadia late in September and consulted with the Czar and his Chancellor and Minister of War; it was agreed that Roumania should give free passage to a Russian army. At a council of ambassadors

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held at Constantinople, the Roumanians endeavoured to get an assurance from the Protecting Powers that they would guarantee Roumanian neutrality, and urge the Porte to cede the part of the Danube delta which was once Bessarabian; but only Austria came to Roumania's support. Abdul Hamid tried to forestall action by the Powers, by promulgating a new constitution for Turkey. This spoke of the ruler of Roumania as the "head of a privileged province," thus reducing Roumania from the status earlier agreed upon; Charles at once broke off relations with Constantinople, and decided upon a military convention with Russia and the mobilization of the army. At a council of leading Roumanian statesmen, the majority proved diffident; Bratiano, Kogălniceano and C. A. Rosetti were however in sympathy with the Prince; and Kogălniceano, who accepted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, signed on April 4, 1877, a convention with Russia promising that Russian troops should receive friendly treatment during their passage through Roumania to fight Turkey, on condition that Russia would guarantee Roumania the full possession of her rights and "maintain and defend Roumania's existing territorial integrity." The Russians crossed the Pruth on April 12. On the 26th, Roumanian mobilization was complete, and Charles took supreme command of an army of 50,000 men with 180 guns. On that same day the Turks fired from Widin on the Roumanian batteries of Calafat; and Charles superintended personally a counter-attack a few days later. The Russians at first refused to accept Roumanian co-operation except with complete

subordination to the Russian high command; but after they had been twice defeated by the Turks in July at Plevna in Bulgaria, the Grand-Duke Nicholas telegraphed begging Charles to come at once to his relief; and when Charles appeared before the Czar, the latter asked him to take supreme command of the combined army before Plevna, where 60,000 Turkish troops under Osman-Pasha were well entrenched. Charles had 35,000 Roumanians, with 168 guns, and 30,000 Russians, with 282. They began the attack on August 26, 1877; by an interesting coincidence, the numbers of the first two successful regiments—the 13th infantry and the 5th of the line—were those of the Roman legions (XIII Gemina and V Macedonica) that won and garrisoned Dacia under Trajan. On the 30th the redoubt of the Grivitza was in their hands—the first victory over the ancient enemy for 282 years. The desperate struggle continued for weeks; but on November 28, Osman-Pasha had to capitulate to Charles. Shortly afterward, the Roumanians attacked Widdin; but operations were interrupted by the Armistice of Adrianople (January 19, 1878).

— The Peace of San Stefano (February 19) filled Roumania with indignation. It recognized Roumanian independence, to be sure, though after Montenegrin and Serbian; but it formed a Greater Bulgaria, destined to be the most important power in southeastern Europe, and gave Roumania to understand that Russia would appropriate the remainder of Bessarabia—a sacrifice which the Czar's special ambassador Ignatieff at once came to demand, holding out to Charles in compensation a possible nomi-

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nation to the throne of Bulgaria, and annexation of the Dobrudja. The Parliament and people came unanimously to the support of their sovereign in refusing this treacherous reward for Roumanian aid; Bucharest was put into shape to resist Russian occupation; and to the threat from St. Petersburg that the Roumanian army would be forcibly disarmed, Charles made the proud reply: "The Roumanian army, which fought so heroically at Plevna under the eyes of the Czar, may be annihilated, but not disarmed." England and Austria prevented an armed conflict by demanding a revision of the Treaty of San Stefano, and Russia had to submit to the findings of the Congress of Berlin of 1878, as regards the dream of a Greater Bulgaria; but the possession of Bessarabia, with its control of the lower Danube, seemed vital to St. Petersburg. The Congress sanctioned Russia's demand; Bismarck tried to convince Bratiano and Kogălniceano, the Roumanian delegates, of the necessity of their yielding; they were given a chance to be heard after the representatives of Greece (who, after non-participation, came in for a share of the spoils, as after the Great War; hence Lord Salisbury's ironic motion: "After hearing the delegates of a nation claiming provinces belonging to others, let us hear also the representatives of a country asking for territories belonging to it.") The Congress forced Roumania however to accept the retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia, and the gift of the Dobrudja as far as Silistria and south of Mangalia, as conditions of an acknowledgment of Roumanian independence; and the French delegate, Waddington, succeeded in tacking to this a provision that Rou-

mania must not allow religion to be a bar to citizenship or the practice of any profession or occupation. All this was exhumed, as we shall see, by the Paris Conference of 1919.

Thus Roumania was treated by the Powers in 1878,—a precedent to be followed in 1918-1919. "In politics," philosophically remarked Lord Beaconsfield to Bratiano, "ingratitude is oftentimes the reward for the most distinguished services." With heavy hearts, the Roumanian Parliament sanctioned the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, on September 15; a fortnight later, the Roumanian officials left Bessarabia, for an exile of forty years. By the middle of November, the occupation of the Dobrudja began—460 years since it had been Roumanian, under Mircea the Old. As regards the religious provision, a Constitutional Convention, called in January, 1879, voted that "difference of religious belief and confession shall not constitute a bar to the acquisition and exercise of civil and political rights"; they conferred citizenship *en bloc* upon all the Jews who had fought in the Roumanian army, some 900 in number, and provided that any non-Christian might petition Parliament for citizenship, by which means the entrance of the whole Jewish body into the electorate was postponed. Indeed, we must remember that the Roumanian peasant had also no electoral status at this time. This withholding of civil rights from the peasants and the Jews, while doubtless inevitable under peculiar conditions in that corner of Europe, was a serious handicap to the new state, both in acquiring sympathy in western democracies, and in borrowing money from the great financial

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houses; and it returned to plague Roumania many times later.

The death of the Princess Maria, only child of Charles and Elizabeth, brought up the question of the succession to the throne. The Constitution had provided that in the absence of a direct male heir, the succession should pass to the eldest brother of the prince, or his descendants, in order of primogeniture. Charles' brother Leopold resigned in favour of his children, the elder of whom, Ferdinand, became Crown Prince; Charles himself, on March 14, 1881, was proclaimed King Carol; on the 10th of May, before a most distinguished gathering, the King put on the Crown of Roumania, fashioned of the steel of a Turkish cannon captured at Plevna.

The 'eighties saw rapid progress in Roumania. Bratiano formed a ministry which lasted seven years, the Conservatives having become demoralized. A National Bank and National Savings Banks were established in 1880; Farmers' Credit Banks began operations in 1881; the State took over the railways (1882); there was great development of building and of public works; Bucharest was fortified after plans of Gen. Brialmont; and a fortified line was drawn (under German plans) from Focshani to Galatz—evidently against Russia. At the Congress of Berlin, Bratiano had complained to Bismarck of Roumania's helplessness and isolation; "Don't come to me," said the Iron Chancellor, "Go to Vienna and offer them guarantees; make a treaty of alliance with them, and matters will right themselves." In 1883, Charles went to Vienna and drew up a secret treaty with the Austrians, by which Roumania became an

adjunct of the Triple Alliance; it provided e. g. that if Russia attacked Austria, Roumania should despatch her armies to assist the Hungarian forces; in case Russia succeeded in invading Roumania, Italy should despatch 40,000 troops to the Carpathians. As in the case of Italy, this agreement with Austria and Germany certainly contributed to the peace of Europe, distasteful as it was to both countries to enter on friendly relations with Austro-Hungary, oppressor of hundreds of thousands of their own compatriots.

Bratiano retired in 1888. Under the Conservative ministries of Theodore Rosetti (1888-1889) and G. Manu (1889-1891), the Treasury, under M. Ghermani, succeeded in reaching a gold basis, and the Roumanian currency now circulated at par throughout the Latin Union. The judicial status was also raised by confirming judges in their tenure of office. In 1889, the last stretch of private railroad passed into government hands. Lascar Catargi presided over another Conservative ministry for four prosperous years, retiring in 1895. Bratiano had died in 1891; Catargi lived until 1899. It was the blessing of Roumania that men of such distinguished character and attainments headed her leading parties during this troubled period.

To trace in detail the history of the next twenty years would be a tabulation of great material and intellectual progress; but these matters fall rather under other heads. The new men that appear in politics—Carp, Marghiloman, John J. Bratiano, Take Jonesco—will receive our attention later. Banking and financial reforms, together with the

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commercial outlook, must be considered in their entirety. The new educational institutions are intertwined with the history of the literature. But we cannot close this chapter, which is designed to give a general idea of the progress of the new Roumania up to the Balkan Wars, without some mention of the most remarkable phenomenon in Roumanian commerce and business life in the beginning of the twentieth century—a phenomenon we can trace (as so often) in Italy also—the sudden growth of German trade and influence. Here the official figures tell their own story:

	Imports into Roumania from Germany (in lei)	Percentage of total imports	Exports from Roumania into Germany (in lei)	Percentage of total exports
1883	43,886,724	12.20%	4,560,118	2.07%
1888	83,224,501	26.81%	6,515,142	2.54%
1893	117,878,929	27.38%	130,997,326	35.33%
1898	110,535,081	28.35%	12,545,366	4.45%
1903	78,446,863	29.06%	14,588,402	4.10%
1908	140,810,539	34.01%	24,566,838	6.47%
1913	238,000,000	40.33%	(1912) 42,536,432	6.62%

The imports from Austro-Hungary, which formed almost exactly half the total for the period from 1875 to 1885, fell to about a quarter for the period 1903-1913. Together, Austria and Germany furnished half or more of the imports into Roumania from 1878 on; and in recent years the proportion ran $\frac{3}{5}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$. German enterprise was powerfully seconded by the Jewish wholesalers, bankers and retailers of Bucharest, Jassy and other centres. Their connections were with Vienna, Frankfort and Berlin. German commercial travellers were accompanied by German writers and scholars; Berlin

granted subventions to German schools, which speedily became fashionable; and Roumanian engineers, officers, professional men and scholars acquired the habit of studying in Germany rather than in Paris. The visitor to Roumania finds German almost as useful to him as French, and it was striking to me to note how frequently scientific and professional men—in the museums, salt-mines, oil-fields and even the army—changed with relief from French to German as soon as they found I spoke the latter as well.

CHAPTER IX

ROUMANIA AND THE SECOND BALKAN WAR

GEOGRAPHICALLY, Roumania is not a Balkan country; ethnographically, she is; for several hundred thousand Roumanians reside south of the Danube, and many an Albanian and Macedonian village counts a majority of "Aromâni" (as these Balkan Roumanians call themselves). They masquerade as Greeks in the Greek propaganda literature, and they have proved a fertile field for Hellenization; many a wealthy Greek trader, like the banker Averoff, a poet, like Valaorites, a scientist like Prof. Lambros, not to speak of patriots like Marco Bozzaris, were Macedonian or Albanian Kutzo-Vlachs, as the Greeks call them. But among themselves they cling to their Latin dialects, which we find in use all the way from the few thousand Cici of the Istrian peninsula (for whom Italy has just restored Roumanian schools) to the compact scores of thousands of Kutzo-Vlachs in the Pindus Mountains. They were mentioned at some length by Kogălniceano in his history of the Roumanians (1837); and after the events of 1848, a number of the banished liberals went down into Turkey, and came to know their Macedo-Roumanian brethren. The poet Bolintineano and the leading littérateur Heliade Rădulesco were pioneers in bringing home to the Roumanian public the fact that down in the Balkans, under Turkish political oppression and Greek edu-

cational influences, were hundreds of thousands of Roumanian-speaking farmers, shepherds and business men. Bolintineano presented a memorial to the Grand Vizier asking that these Roumanians might have schools in their own language; an item for propaganda schools in the Balkans was inserted in the budget of the United Principalities; and the first school was opened soon at Tirnova, near Monastir. By 1910, this number had grown to 120 primary schools, three colleges (lycées or gymnasia), a commercial college, and a girls' normal school. Among the other educational problems of Greater Roumania is the maintenance of these Macedonian schools; the Roumanian leu is worth only 15 or 20% of the Greek drachma, and the teachers' salaries are now totally inadequate.

Besides these Albanian and Macedonian Roumanians, there are perhaps 250,000 Roumanians incorporated into Serbia in the Timok Valley, and Bulgaria has about 25,000 along the Danube. However difficult it may be to estimate the total of these and the Macedo-Roumanians, we shall be under the mark in stating that when the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 broke out, half a million Roumanians in the warring countries looked north across the Danube for sympathy and for help in securing their rights.

Roumania's situation was a difficult one. It was clear, according to the principle of compensation, that if European Turkey fell to pieces, and Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria absorbed this half-million of Roumanians, she had the right to be reimbursed in some fashion; and it was also clear that this com-

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pensation should come from Bulgaria, in the form of a cession of part of the Bulgarian Dobrudja, which is predominantly settled by Turks, so that the transaction would not be objectionable on the score of nationalities. But the war began without Roumania being consulted; during the diplomatic negotiations, Mr. Bouchier, Balkan correspondent of the *London Times*, states that he failed to convince Premier Maioresco that he must clear up the situation before Bulgaria mobilized. Not till the autumn of 1912 did a Bulgarian diplomat, Mr. Daneff, come to Bucharest. There the Roumanian position was made clear to him. He asked to have further dealings in London; and perhaps the most experienced and capable man in the Roumanian diplomatic service, Mr. Mishu, was transferred from Constantinople to London to continue negotiations with him. But the Bulgarian victories turned the heads of the military party in power, and before the dream of the revival of the Bulgarian Empire of the Middle Ages, all sense of realities faded.

Meanwhile, the international situation grew more complicated. Austria, on the look-out for a chance to pounce upon Serbia, began sounding Roumania, just as (thanks to Giolitti and Tittoni) we know she was sounding Italy. Gen. Conrad von Hötzendorff, the Austrian Chief of Staff, who later failed so dramatically on the Asiago Plateau, paid a visit to General Averesco, the brilliant Bessarabian soldier who was then Chief of Staff and later Premier, to discuss military co-operation against the Serbs; but he got small encouragement. One of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand's intimates, an Aus-

trian high official named Riedl, came to offer Austria's services in the negotiations with Bulgaria—at the price of a customs union with Austro-Hungary. He was perfectly frank with Take Jonesco in outlining the Teutonic programme. Europe, he said, is divided up into three classes of nations. England and France are predatory; they must be eliminated from European commerce. Russia is Oriental; she must be driven out of Europe and away from the Black Sea and the Baltic. There remain the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Roumania, the Balkan countries and the new states to arise from the ruins of Russia—Finland, Courland, Poland, the Ukraine. These must all form a customs union with Germany and Austria. The partition of Russia was Bismarck's scheme, and he was willing to come to an understanding with Great Britain in order to realize it.

Take Jonesco, who was a member of the Ministry, tells us that he conceived the idea of offering Bulgaria three army corps of Roumanian soldiers for the reduction of Adrianople, in order to make the Bulgarian cession easier; but when he went to London in January, 1913, to confer with Mishu and Daneff, he found the latter wholly unresponsive. However, a conference of ambassadors at St. Petersburg was decided upon and their decision awarded to Roumania the town of Silistria and a 3-kilometre zone about it. Just then occurred the break between Serbia and Bulgaria. It was clear that every eventuality would now have to be faced. The decree of mobilization was ready for the King's signa-

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ture—he was at Constantza opening a mosque there—when Czar Nicholas' telegram arrived asking all the Balkan sovereigns to compose their differences. Immediately upon Take Jonesco's return to Bucharest, he received a telegram from Venizelos asking if, in case of a new Balkan War, he could count on Roumanian aid for the Greek Army. Jonesco replied affirmatively on his own initiative. Austria was suspicious; Prince Fürstemberg, the Minister, warned Jonesco that Austria was determined to support Bulgaria against Serbia, by force of arms if necessary, and that if Roumania came into the war against Bulgaria, she would soon find herself fighting Austria; but, he added, you will get such concessions from the Bulgarians that you will have no incentive to fight them.

The concessions did not materialize. The Bulgarians attacked the Serbs and Greeks, and a huge popular demonstration against the Bulgarians took place in Bucharest. Mobilization was decreed. A note was sent to Sofia stating that since Bulgaria, in spite of the warnings of Roumania, had reopened the Near Eastern question, the Roumanian Government had given orders to its troops to enter Bulgaria. But the Daneff government at Sofia telegraphed to Sazonoff that Bulgaria was willing to submit her differences with Serbia and Greece to the arbitration of the Czar. Sazonoff therefore wired the Russian Minister at Bucharest to notify the Roumanian Government that any advance of Roumanian troops into Bulgaria would be considered by Russia an unfriendly act, but that Russia guaranteed Roumania a new Dobrudja frontier (Turtucaia-Balchik). Take

Jonesco succeeded in persuading the Russian Minister to telegraph back to St. Petersburg for further instructions before presenting these. Meanwhile, orders were sent the Roumanian commander to cross the Danube without delay. Two days later, the Daneff cabinet fell, and the pro-Austrian ministry of Radoslavoff came in; now Russia asked Roumania to advance into Bulgaria, and the Austrian Minister asked that the advance be stayed! Austria also was willing to guarantee the Turtucaia-Balchik line. Both of Roumania's powerful neighbours considered this compensation entirely legitimate.

Bulgaria saw that she was doomed, and accepted an armistice before any clash at arms with Roumania. The Peace Conference was held at Bucharest, resulting in the Treaty of Bucharest of July 28, 1913. This sanctioned the new line, which leaves the Danube just above Turtucaia, and runs through the hills to a point on the Black Sea coast between Balchik and Varna. By a secret annex to this treaty, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Roumania guaranteed each other their new boundaries until they should be officially ratified by the Bulgarian Sobranje—which has never occurred! This was the clause invoked by Serbia for Roumanian and Greek aid early in the World War, and considered morally binding by Take Jonesco and Venizelos.

This imperfect sketch of the development of Roumania will nevertheless prepare the reader to appreciate the difficulty of the choice of sides in the World War. On the one hand an admiration, even an affection for France, the intellectual home of all cultivated Roumanians; a great respect for England;

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a fellow-feeling for the "Latin sister," Italy; recent co-operation with Serbia against Bulgaria; and a sympathy for the ideals of the Allies, especially as voiced by President Wilson. On the other, a deep and well-grounded fear of the Russian colossus; a treaty with Austria, and an economic dependence on Austria and Germany, together with most seductive offers on the part of the Germans if Roumania would only stay neutral. What turned the balance was (as with Italy) the unredeemed provinces; and we must consider them before we can understand the situation.

CHAPTER X

THE PROVINCES OUTSIDE THE KINGDOM: THE BUCOVINA

THE "Beech Forest," as the name Bucovina indicates, is of only some 3850 square miles (a little larger than Rhode Island and Delaware combined, but less than Connecticut), and nearly half of that is woods of beech and pine; but its population (800,098 in 1910, 811,721 in 1919) is a strange mixture of Roumanian, German and Slav (Ruthenian). Before 1774 it formed the northwestern extension of Moldavia into Poland and Russia; and the rulers of Moldavia several times subjugated considerable districts in those countries, while the Bucovina hills formed a shelter for generations for the raiders of whom the Polish writer of the *Life of St. Cunigund* (about 1400) speaks: "*Valachorum . . . natio, rapto vivere assueta, in pecore pascendo et ove nutrienda occupata, agmine facto ex Alpibus quae Hungariam a Poloniae Regno determinant, in quibus suas exercent pasturas tenentque cubilia, frequenter in oppidum Antiquae Sandecz hostiliter nocte . . . insiliebant*"—"the tribe of the Wallachs, accustomed to live on rapine and busied in pasturing their herds and feeding sheep, used to raise bands and sweep down from the Alps which separate Hungary from the Kingdom of Poland and in which they pasture their flocks and have their shelters, often

making night raids upon the town of Old Sandecz." Indeed, there were Roumanians scattered all over nearer Galicia, and in Lemberg they had their own Chamber of Commerce, their quarter, market-place, church, "Pons Valachicus" and "Via Valachica" (Roumanian Bridge and Avenue). But the increasing power of Poland and then of Austria turned the tables, coinciding with the continual decadence of the Principalities under the Phanariote régime; nevertheless conditions of life, especially for the peasants, were much easier in Moldavia, and there was constant emigration of Ruthenians (Ukrainians, Little Russians) into the border districts. The Poles, who were short of labour, made every effort to stop this; a typical episode is this of 1742; four cart-loads of Ruthenian peasants had surreptitiously succeeded in crossing the border, but were followed by mounted Polish frontier-guards, who fired upon them and wounded several till driven away by the nearest Roumanian villagers; the local governor made a formal demand upon the Poles for the punishment of these guards who had violated the boundary. But the infiltration kept on, till all the districts nearest Galicia had a large proportion of Ruthenians. Meanwhile Austria, her appetite whetted by the Partition of Poland which had given her Eastern Galicia, applied to the Porte for the strip of land next adjoining in order to have a corridor from Galicia to Transylvania. Prince Gregory Ghica protested against the cession, but in vain; and in 1775 the Austrians took over this Roumanian territory. They found it probably at least three-quarters Roumanian, and at first made use of that language, with

German, as official, together with some use of Ruthenian. A very interesting contemporary description by an Austrian officer says: "The original inhabitants of the Bucovina are just the same as the majority of those in Turkish Moldavia, descendants of the Wallachian or Roman colonists. They received in former times a considerable increase of coreligionists who emigrated from Transylvania. Besides these inhabitants many have immigrated from the neighbouring countries . . . ; accordingly one finds many Hungarian, Transylvanian, Armenian and especially Jewish families in the country. The general language of the country is the Wallachian, which is composed of a corrupt Latin; various other tongues are spoken, however, by the tribes which have settled in the country, especially the Old Russian or Ruthenian. There has even been a bountiful sowing of the German language, since the lamented Maria Theresa founded German schools throughout the country, to the benefit of all the inhabitants, but especially of German veterans' children."

This passage brings up two of the most interesting problems in connection with the Bucovina—the religious question, and the school situation. While Moldavian, the Bucovinians had belonged to the Oriental Greek Orthodox Church; and this organization, which had very valuable property, was at first left untouched by the Austrians, though they dipped more and more into its income, and at the beginning of the World War seized all its fluid assets as a loan. The Ruthenians, however, belonged to the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, ever since the





Pact of 1595 with Pope Clement VIII; their rite and belief coincide in general with those of the Greek Orthodox Church, but they owed allegiance to Rome. As these Galician Ruthenians crossed over into the Bucovina, where there were no Greek Catholic churches, they naturally joined the Orthodox congregations; and Rome saw with alarm the constant increase of the schismatic Oriental Church, at the expense of the Catholics of Greek rite. In 1780 the Papal Nuncio at Vienna was besought to appoint Greek Catholic priests and found churches for the Bucovina; the Council of War disapproved of the step; but in 1806 the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Lemberg in Galicia addressed a memorial to the Emperor Francis I, informing him that the Ruthenians of Greek Catholic rite who had entered the Bucovina in such numbers, would not join Catholic churches of Latin rite, but went instead to the Oriental churches, and begging him to use the Bucovina religious funds to establish Greek Catholic worship there—but again in vain. Proselyting went on, and in 1848 one of the counts against the government on the part of the Roumanian liberals was that they had countenanced the activities of missionaries from Galicia; but meanwhile the Ruthenians had discovered that their aim of becoming the predominant element in the Bucovina was better served by wresting the control of the Greek Orthodox Church away from the Roumanians; and in this the Austrian government gave them every assistance. Their policy was to eliminate the Roumanians as rapidly as possible, from fear of Roumanian irredentism, and give Ruthenians every possible privilege, with a view

to effect in the Ukraine—Austria's dream being an expansion to Odessa, quite as much as to Saloniki. The Ruthenians therefore began a campaign to get control of the Greek Orthodox organization and funds in the Bucovina, and gave scant assistance to the Greek Catholic propaganda, which, beginning in 1861 with the founding of a Greek Catholic community in Czernowitz, had reached in 1910 a total of only 26,182 souls (falling to 20,783 in 1919). The Orthodox authorities had early given special privileges to the Ruthenians in their church services; in 1789, the new Bishop of Czernowitz, Daniel Wlachowicz, a Serb by birth, permitted them to use Church Slavonic instead of Roumanian in their services, and even imported Ruthenian priests for them from Galicia and the Ukraine. With the passage of time, they demanded and received in 1906 a Ruthenian Orthodox bishopric in the Bucovina; and at the beginning of the war it was understood that there should be a Ruthenian successor to the venerable and distinguished Archbishop of Czernowitz, Vladimir de Repta, whom I had the privilege of seeing both in his magnificent palace at Czernowitz, and in the first Parliament of Greater Roumania, where it was reserved for him, as protagonist of the Roumanians outside the kingdom, to be the first presiding officer of the Roumanian Senate. I shall never forget his ascetic figure, in brilliant purple robes, as he listened to King Ferdinand's inaugural address, with the tears running down his cheeks. His dearest prayer had been answered before he was gathered to his fathers.

Austria had also utilized the schools as a method

of suppressing the Roumanian element. I wish however to avoid giving the impression that Austrian methods were in any degree as arbitrary and severe as Hungarian. Any one who travelled in Transylvania and then in the Bucovina, noted the difference at once. With the Roumanian occupation of Transylvania, one saw the exultation over Hungarian oppression in a hundred little ways; the railroad stations, for instance, which had, under Magyar jingoism, borne only the Hungarian name of the town, immediately blossomed forth with only the Roumanian name, which however more melodious than the Magyar designation—one need only compare Nagyvárad with Oradia Mare—is equally unintelligible to a Westerner who knows the town only as Grosswardein. But in the same month (November, 1919) I was amused to find the main square in Czernowitz, the capital of the Bucovina, still called the Franz-Josefsplatz, and the street-names (German in large type in the centre, Roumanian in small type above and Ruthenian below) still untouched. But apparently the live and let live methods of Austria were none the less effective—far more so than the brutal Hungarian system, which merely fanned Roumanian resentment to a flame; in the Bucovina, Roumanian national feeling was gradually dying out before this slow, unimpassioned encouragement of Ruthenians in religion and Germans in schools, and before the social privileges which the Austrians never failed to accord to the Roumanian landed aristocracy in the Bucovina, to keep them contented.

The Austrians found a few Roumanian schools and one theological seminary in the Bucovina when

they took over the province in 1774. These they closed and replaced with German schools, which they declared in 1815 Roman Catholic confessional schools depending on the Archbishop of Lemberg. That automatically excluded Roumanian Orthodox teachers. It was not till 1844 that permission was given to open Roumanian confessional schools also. In 1869 the schools ceased to be confessional and became governmental—which meant German. All the courses in the Czernowitz Normal School were given in German. In 1911 the census gave 82 German schools, 12 Polish, 126 Ruthenian, 179 Roumanian, 5 Magyar and 127 bi- or tri-lingual! No better evidence can be had of the diversity of the elements which form the Bucovina. The scholars were 14,500 German (which includes the Jews), 900 Polish, 40,000 Ruthenian, 40,100 Roumanian, 1800 Magyar and 15,000 other nationalities. There were 1289 men teachers in these schools, and 853 women. There were 10 gymnasia (lycées) for boys, with 5600 students (2946 Germans, 10 Bohemians, 238 Poles, 1194 Ruthenians, 1193 Roumanians) and one for girls, with 1343 pupils; one normal school, with 13 professors and 377 men students (78 German, 25 Polish, 151 Ruthenian, 123 Roumanian) and 164 girls (39 German, 12 Polish, 51 Ruthenian, 62 Roumanian and others); 17 technical schools, with 934 German pupils, 228 Roumanian, 3 Czech, 161 Polish and 153 Ruthenian; and three agricultural schools, with 25 professors and 65 students. The University of Czernowitz was founded in 1875, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the incorporation of the Bucovina into Austria. Its avowed purpose was

to become an outpost of German culture in south-eastern Europe; indeed, it was some years before it contained even a chair of Roumanian language and literature! In a recent session, in the various departments (Law, Theology, Philosophy and Pharmacy), there were 1180 students, of whom 575 were Germans, 279 Roumanians, 7 Czechs, 85 Polish, 207 Ruthenians, 8 Serbo-Croats. The University has an excellent library, of well toward 250,000 volumes, which luckily was spared under the various Russian occupations of the war; and it succeeded in attracting a number of distinguished German scholars. I had heard in Buda-Pesth (and the story was repeated to me by a non-Roumanian journalist in Czernowitz itself) that the Roumanian government, on occupying the Bucovina, had expelled the German professors, and made over the university into a Roumanian institution; but in a conversation with the Rector, Dr. Tarnavsky, I learned that these German scholars who left had done so because they felt themselves part of the German University system, and only after they had been urgently invited by the Roumanian government to remain. It was true, he said, that they hoped, as befitted a Roumanian institution, to make Roumanian the language of instruction; but the members of the present faculty who did not speak the language were to be given all the time necessary—two or three years if needful—to master it. I had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of a number of non-Roumanians in the faculty; and I have lately received a letter from one of them, a German Bohemian, who tells me that he is given every facility for his work by the Roumanians. But un-

fortunately the fall in value of the crown hampers all scholarly and university activity. The University Library allowance for the purchase of books and periodicals does not suffice to pay for the renewals of foreign periodicals alone! And the teacher crisis, which is enough of a problem even in the United States, is in the highest degree embarrassing in the Bucovina. It is true that in the gradual decay of culture which we are witnessing all over the world, 60% of American teachers have never reached the third year of high-school; but where is the Roumanian government to find its teachers for the Bucovina, where, according to a Roumanian author, thanks to the long Austrian embargo on Roumanian higher schools, 80% of the Roumanian population can neither read nor write?

Of the 811,721 inhabitants of the Bucovina, nearly one-quarter live in the city (91,852) or county (94,940) of Czernowitz. The city lies fan-shape upon the steep hills running down to the Pruth, and is quite Austro-German in its appearance and construction. Its business is largely in the hands of the 43,555 Jews and 14,597 Germans who live there; most of the Polish population of the Bucovina is concentrated there also (10,848). The city contains also 12,639 Roumanians and 9566 Ruthenians (census of 1919). I found it possible to make myself understood everywhere on the streets and in the shops with German or Roumanian. According to the non-Roumanian newspaper men with whom I talked, the new Roumanian administration was accommodating itself to the peculiar conditions in the Bucovina, after considerable friction at first; they

themselves felt keenly the inconveniences of the difficulty of communication with Vienna, their chief source of news in the past, but found a gradual improvement there also. As everywhere, the lack of coal hampered all departments of life; beech-wood for burning had gone up from 35 crowns to 1680 crowns a cubic metre; all other commodities had risen in price enormously; but wages had also increased many times.

Politically, Roumania has had a serious problem here, as in Bessarabia, with Bolshevistic agitation among the Jews and Ruthenians. The latter, being Slavs, are fertile soil for Communistic propaganda, just like the Russians and Bulgarians; while the Roumanian peasant, being a hard-headed Latin like an Italian or Spaniard, is not at all receptive to Bolshevism. I had ocular demonstration of this the evening of November 17, 1919, in Czernowitz; Ruthenian soldiers who formed half of a regiment newly formed by the Roumanians out of returned war prisoners from the Bucovina, were tampered with by local Bolshevistic sympathizers, who persuaded them to mutiny and return to their homes; they shot up the town, seized a train and were nearly home when overhauled. The Roumanian half of the same regiment remained loyal!

According to the census of 1910, of the 800,098 inhabitants of the Bucovina, 273,254 used Roumanian as "Umgangsprache" (customary spoken language), 305,101 Ruthenian, 168,851 German, 36,210 Polish, 10,391 Magyar, 1005 Bohemian, 80 Slovak and 5206 Russian and other languages. The

first Roumanian census (1919) gave the Roumanians 378,859 and the Ruthenians 227,361. About 68% of the population is Greek Orthodox, 13% Hebrew, 12.3% Roman Catholic, 3.3% Greek Catholic, 2.6% Protestant. The farms are prevailingly tiny; this applies particularly to the Roumanian element, who occupy three-quarters of all the individual farms; but their farms make up only one-eighth of the whole farm area. Before the war there were 4 sugar refineries (all destroyed or dismantled by the Russians); 2 flour mills (both destroyed); 5 large distilleries (all destroyed) and 70 large farmer's stills (all but 3 destroyed); etc. The combination of the Russian devastations, coal shortage and transportation crisis make it easy to dispose of the industrial situation in a few words! Co-operatives were well developed; in 1913 there were 90 co-operative stores (cooperative de consum); 71 village co-operatives; 20 city trades-union co-operatives; and a few others. There was a Landesbank, for rural credits; a mortgage loan institution, 3 savings banks, one government pawn-shop, and a number of branches of Vienna banks, which had Bucovina deposits totalling about \$8,000,000. There were 586 popular banks, 470 of the Reiffeisen system, and 114 of the Schultze-Delitzsch. The railroads totalled about 375 miles, and there were about 700 miles of improved highway.

The Bucovina is a small district, neither wealthy nor fertile; and the joy over its return is disproportionately great in Roumania. It is much as if the State of Maine had been held by the British for over a century, during which it became half French-

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Canadian, and were then returned to us. The Bucovina has always been a favourite theme with the Roumanian poets; the Bucovina littérateur, S. F. Marian, has published a collection of the ballads and other poems which circulate among its Roumanian peasantry. One of the best of Alecsandri's poems is that dedicated to the Bucovina :

Dulce Bucovină,
Veselă grădină
Cu pomi roditori
Shi mândri feciori!
Cuib de păserele
Albe, sprintinele,
Care 'n ochii lor
Au foc răpitor.

Sweet Bucovina
Blithe garden
With fruitful trees
And proud sons!
Nest of birdlets
White, quick,
Which in their eyes
Have ravishing fire.

Tu ce eshti o floare
Căzută din soare
Cu trei alte flori,
A tale surori!
Ele cătră tine
Privesc cu suspine,
Shi tu le zimbeshti
Cu zimbiri cereshti.

Thou who art a flower
Fallen from the sun
With three other flowers
Ah, such sisters!
They toward thee
Look with sighing,
And thou smilest at them
With heavenly smiles.

Dulce Bucovină!
Vîntul ce înclină
Cu aripa lui
Iarba câmpului
Nashte prin shoptire
Scumpa amintire
De-un trecut frumos,
Mare, glorios.

Sweet Bucovina!
The wind that bends
With its wing
The grass of the field
Rouses by its whisper
The dear memory
Of a beautiful past
Great, glorious.

Fii în veci voioasă
 Pre cât eshti frumoasă!
 Fie traiul tău
 Dupa gândul meu!
 Ah! Cine te vede
 Chiar în raiu se crede.
 Cine-i trecător
 Te plânge cu dor.

Be ever happy
 As thou art beautiful!
 Be thy life
 After my plan (for thee).
 Ah! he who sees thee
 Actually believes
 Himself in Paradise.
 He who is a passer-by
 Mourns for thee with long-
 ing.

And one of Eminesco's most melodious poems is addressed to the Bucovina; I quote the last three stanzas:

Când pe bolta brună tremură Selene
 Cu un pas melodic, cu un pas a lene
 Lin în calea sa;
 Eol pe-a sa arpă blând răsunătoare
 Cânt' a noptzii dulce, mistică cântare,
 Cânt din Valhala.

Atunci ca shi silful ce n'adoarme 'n pace
 Inima îmi bate, bate shi nu tace,
 Tremură ushor.
 In fantazii mândre ea îshi face cale,
 Peste muntzi cu codri, peste deal shi vale
 Mână al ei dor.

Mână doru-i tainic colo înspre tine,
 Ochiul îmi sclipeshte, genele-mi sunt pline,
 Inima mi-e grea;
 Astfel totdeauna, când gândesc la tine,
 Sufletul mi-apasă nourî de suspine,
 Bucovina mea!

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When Selene flutters through the dark arch
With melodious step, with leisurely step
 Gently in her path;
Aeolus on his harp, softly resonant,
Sings the mystic song of the sweet night,
 Sings in Walhalla.

Then like a sylph who cannot fall asleep in peace
My soul beats, beats and will not keep still,
 Trembles easily.
In proud imaginings she makes her way,
Over mountains and forests, over hill and dale
 Urged on by fondness for her (i. e. Bucovina)

Mystic longing for thee up there urges me on
My eye glistens, my eye-lashes are full,
 My soul is heavy;
Thus always, when I think of thee,
My spirit rouses clouds of sighs,
 My Bucovina!

CHAPTER XI

BESSARABIA

THE Bucovina shows how Austria handled a Moldavian province; in Bessarabia, we see the result of Russian dominion in the case of a larger section of Moldavia, detached a few years later. Russian policy, under Catherine II, looked to the absorption of both Moldavia and Wallachia, as a step toward Tsarigrad (Constantinople); and in 1810-1811 the time seemed ripe. But Napoleon's change of front and invasion of Russia altered the situation, and Russia succeeded in taking possession of only Bessarabia, and that by the bribery of Turkish officials, who were later executed by the Porte. After the Russian defeat in the Crimean War, three of the Bessarabian counties were returned to Roumania, but for only twenty years, as Russia obtained their retrocession by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

When Russia took over Bessarabia in 1812, she found a homogeneous Roumanian country, in which the only foreign elements worthy of remark were recent Bulgarian colonies in the southeast. Alexander I organized the new province in liberal fashion, preserving the Roumanian laws and customs; he appointed as governor a Roumanian boyar, Scarlat Sturza, and as Metropolitan the Roumanian bishop Gabriel Banulesco Bodoni. The population was exempted from taxes for five years; and there was

no recruiting—a beatific state which lasted till 1874! He provided for a legislature, which was naturally Roumanian in majority; and Roumanian remained a state language, on a par with Russian. Bessarabia was really autonomous, and remained so till the accession of the autocratic Czar Nicholas I, late in 1825. He suppressed the State Council of Bessarabia in 1828; reorganized the courts on Russian models with the provision that only Russian might be used in them; and commenced the insidious and constant process of Russification. Already in 1824, it had been provided that all teaching should be in Russian, the study of Roumanian being allowed only in addition to that of Russian. In 1841, the Marshal of the Bessarabian nobles, John Sturza, succeeded in having Roumanian introduced as language of instruction in a few schools; but it was soon superseded by Russian; and the Archbishop Paul Ledebef, who began his ministrations in 1871, succeeded in driving the last use of the language out of the churches, although the vast bulk of the worshippers knew no other. A favourite story tells of a priest, Ruthenian by origin, who had to conduct services one day and found he had forgotten his prayer-book; he could quote the prayers by heart (in Church Slavonic, the language of the cult), but not the gospels. He always carried with him a little volume of the works of the Ruthenian poet Kevchenko; taking it out, he read in place of the gospel selection, with the utmost unction, the poem, “Dumi moi, dumi” (thoughts, my thoughts), to the full satisfaction of his Roumanian hearers.

The Russians encouraged immigration from the

Ukraine and Russia itself, and also established German, French, Swiss and Bulgarian colonies, all of which prospered. They made room for many of these immigrants by inducing Roumanians to emigrate to other parts of the Empire, especially Siberia and the Caucasus; it is estimated that several hundred thousand of these Roumanians and their descendants are now scattered where they can never again form part of Roumania. With the predominance of Russian law, bureaucracy and education, the city bourgeoisie became prevailingly Russian; and this tendency was accentuated by the introduction of the Russian zemstvo system, largely administered by Russians. Commerce was mainly in the hands of the Jews, who ordinarily speak Roumanian and Russian in addition to Yiddish.

Bessarabia was therefore superficially Russified when the war broke out; but the Roumanian peasantry had been untouched. Many were reconciled to the lack of schools, because that allowed them to exploit the children on the farm; to the government negligence and the zemstvo system, because they did not have to tax themselves for expensive improvements in the way of roads, railroads, sewers, etc.; to the police system, because for a few rubles they could bribe the gendarmes to overlook illegalities. It speaks volumes for the devotion of the few Roumanian intellectuals that they succeeded in winning the conservative peasants over to a new régime which means heavier taxes, schools that will take the children out of farm-work for much of the year, and a higher standard of law-enforcement.

The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, was im-

mediately followed by the formation in Kishineff of the National Democratic Moldavian Party, which aimed at complete autonomy for Bessarabia, on the lines of the independence which the Ukraine and other parts of Russia were securing. On April 6-7 was held a Congress of Members of Co-operatives, which sent up to the Provisory Government a demand for the continuance of the war against the Central Empires; for Bessarabian autonomy, with the Roumanian as official language; and for the organization of a Sfat or Divan (council), for all local matters. Next came an Ecclesiastical Congress (April 19-25), which also demanded autonomy and the formation of a Divan, to be chosen by a National Assembly, the Sfat; these demands were repeated at a later assembly of priests in August. Over ten thousand Bessarabians who were at Odessa held a meeting on April 18, which resolved not merely in favour of autonomy for Bessarabia, but also for a local militia, of Bessarabian soldiers in the former Russian army, to help defend the Roumanian line against the Germans, and protect the district itself from the marauding bands of Red soldiery. The Ukraine having succeeded in securing its autonomy in June, endeavoured at once to appropriate Bessarabia; meeting followed meeting in Kishineff; the Moldavian Military Committee, representing 190,000 Bessarabian soldiers in the Russian army, protested effectively at Petrograd; and on October 20-27, 1917, 989 delegates of the Bessarabian soldiers met at Kishineff, voted the autonomy of Bessarabia unanimously, and decided upon the calling of a Sfat (assembly) for November 21. This met in the midst of wild enthusiasm; John

Inculetz, a modest young law professor, was elected president (and later the first Minister for Bessarabia in the first Ministry of Greater Roumania); speeches were made in favour of autonomy by Mayor A. C. Schmidt, of Kishineff; Judge Luzghin, head of the Russian District Court; Dr. Lutzenko, delegate of the Ukrainian Rada; the representatives of the Jewish Nationalist Societies (Stern and Fischer), the Polish Club (Pomorski), the Ukrainian Club (Mitkevitch), the Greek Club (P. Sinadinos), the Bulgarian Club (Stoyannoff), the Jewish Social Revolutionaries (Cohen), the Jewish Social Democrats (Grünfeld), the Bund (Covarsky), the Kishineff Barristers (Kircoroff), the Press Club (German), the Zemstvos (Muzhichikoff and Podlesny), etc.; I have gone into detail to show the manifold elements in Bessarabian politics. The menace of Bolshevism spurred them on to rapid effort; on December 2, 1917, the Sfat declared Bessarabia a Democratic (Moldavian) Republic, and endeavoured to organize a militia to stop the pillaging of the country by the disorganized bands of Russian soldiery. But in the general anarchy it proved impossible; even the Russian Commander-in-Chief had had to ask for a Roumanian body-guard; and on January 13, 1918, yielding to repeated demands, the Roumanian government entered upon a campaign to rid Bessarabia of Bolshevik bands. Meanwhile the Ukrainian Rada had proclaimed the complete independence of the Ukraine, and the few Russians of Bessarabia who wished to keep up dependence on Moscow found themselves completely severed from Great Russia. On January 24, 1918, the Sfat fol-

lowed suit, and unanimously declared Bessarabia independent. But it was impossible to find money with which to finance the new state; and as the Ukraine remained a constant threat, on March 27, 1918, the Sfat voted by 86 to 3 (36 abstaining) that from that day forth, the Democratic Moldavian Republic of Bessarabia was united with the mother country, Roumania. This Sfat had 85 of the peasant class, of its total membership of 138; 5 deputies of the large land-owning class, who feared the Roumanian agrarian laws, had withdrawn early. There were 103 Moldavians, 13 Ukrainians, 7 Russians, 6 Jews, 5 Bulgarians, 2 Germans, 1 Pole and 1 Armenian; much the same proportion was preserved in the first and second elections for the Roumanian Parliament.

The last important work of the Sfat, before it disbanded, was to pass an agrarian law expropriating all large land-owners of all their estate surpassing 250 acres; vineyards, gardens and orchards were not affected. Payment was to be made for the land expropriated. All forest land was to be taken over by the State, under conditions to be determined later.

Thus Bessarabia became Roumanian. The large land-owners of Russian nationality and sympathies, the Russian office-holding and professorial classes, and certain Jewish interests, protested at once to the Supreme Council and the press of the world; and the Supreme Council characteristically took advantage of the situation to apply pressure to Roumania. It is worth while to study dates and documents. On March 27, 1918, the National Council of Bessarabia passed its resolution of union with Roumania, which runs as follows:

In the name of the people of Bessarabia, the National Council declares:

The Democratic Moldavian Republic (Bessarabia), within its boundaries between the Pruth, the Dniester, the Danube, the Black Sea and the former Austrian frontier, torn away by Russia over a hundred years ago from the body of the former Moldavia, basing itself on historic and national right, and the principle that only the peoples involved should decide their fate, henceforth and forever unites itself to the mother country, Roumania. This union is based on the following provisions:

1. The present National Council is maintained to solve the agrarian problem and apply the reform according to the needs and demands of the people; its decisions shall be recognized by the Roumanian Government.

2. Bessarabia preserves provincial autonomy; it shall have a National Council (Diet) elected henceforward by universal equal direct secret suffrage, with an executive organ, and its own administration.

3. The National Council's jurisdiction extends:

a) over the voting of local budgets,

b) over the control of all the organs of the zemstvos and towns,

c) over the nomination of all the officials of the local administration by its executive organ; but high officials are confirmed by the Government.

4. Army recruiting shall rest, in principle, on a territorial basis.

5. The laws in force, and the local organization (provincial assemblies and towns) are maintained, and cannot be changed by the Roumanian Parliament until after the Bessarabian representatives take part in its decisions.

6. Respect of the rights of minorities in Bessarabia.

7. Two representatives of Bessarabia shall enter the Roumanian Council of Ministers. They shall be appointed, for the moment, by the present National Council; in the

future, they shall be chosen from among the Bessarabian representatives in the Roumanian Parliament.

8. Bessarabia shall send to the Roumanian Parliament a number of representatives proportional to its population; these representatives shall be chosen on the basis of universal equal secret direct suffrage.

9. All the elections in Bessarabia for the cantonal councils (voloste), villages, towns, provincial assemblies and Parliament, shall be held on the basis of universal equal secret direct suffrage.

10. Personal liberty, freedom of the press, of speech, of religion and of public meeting, and all public liberties, shall be guaranteed by the Constitution.

11. Amnesty shall be granted for all infractions of the law committed for political reasons during the troubled period of the last revolution.

Since Bessarabia unites with Roumania as a daughter with her mother, the Roumanian Parliament shall decide upon the immediate calling of a Constitutional Convention in which shall take their place representatives of Bessarabia, in proportion to their population, chosen by universal equal secret direct suffrage, to decide by common accord the writing into the Constitution of the above principles and guarantees.

JOHN INCULETZ,
President of the National Council.

I. BUZDUGAN,
Secretary of the National Council."

This was followed on Nov. 27, 1918, by a further resolution of the National Council, viz.:

"In consequence of the union with Roumania, their mother-country, of the Bucovina, Transylvania, the Banat and the Hungarian territories between the Danube and the Theiss inhabited by Roumanians, the National Council de-

clares that Bessarabia renounces the conditions of union stipulated in the act of March 27th, being certain that in the Roumania of all the Roumanians, a purely democratic régime is assured for the future.

The National Council, on the eve of the Roumanian Constitutional Convention which is to be elected by universal suffrage and is to decide the agrarian question according to the needs and demands of the people, annuls the other conditions of the Act of Union of March 27th, and proclaims the union without conditions of Bessarabia with Roumania, the mother-country.

A. SCOBOLA,
Secretary."

PANT. HALIPPA,
President.

The Supreme Council was deluged with reports unfavourable to the new régime in Bessarabia. It was naturally very difficult to determine the truth in these reports, and Paris was notoriously a bad place for such investigation. I was told by members of the American Peace Delegation as matters of fact that the new Roumanian administration in Bessarabia had proceeded to high-handed confiscation of the estates and properties of prominent Russians and pro-Russian Bessarabians; that they had, to be sure, inserted in the newspapers the due legal notice of this confiscation, but had failed to forward the newspapers to the persons concerned. My attention was particularly called to the famous Krupensky case. Mr. A. N. Krupensky was one of the largest landholders and most distinguished citizens of Bessarabia. His brother Paul was a member of the Russian Duma; their father was Marshal of the Nobility in Bessarabia, and in Podolia. Belonging

to an old Moldavian family, Krupensky was nevertheless brought up under the Russian régime, and was probably considered by St. Petersburg the leading Bessarabian.

With the downfall of the Russian rule in Bessarabia, and the institution of agrarian reform, the Krupensky estates were promptly cut up; they had previously been ravaged by bands of deserting Russian soldiers, like most of Bessarabia. According to the story believed by one American diplomat who told it to me, Krupensky was not allowed to leave his ruined estate, though there was no suitable apartment for his mother. With 30,000 francs he bribed an official and got permission to remove to Bucharest. There he went on to Western Europe, where he conducted a movement against Roumanian rule in Bessarabia, claiming that a plebiscite would show that the people were opposed to it. This was apparently disproved by the elections, as will be shown; and other of his statements seem unfounded. His fellow-irreconcilable, ex-Mayor A. C. Schmidt, of Kishineff, and he have stated, e. g., that freedom of the press no longer existed in Bessarabia. But there are now not only Roumanian but also German and Yiddish papers in Kishineff. They also complain that Bessarabia has lost the autonomy she enjoyed under the Russians. But the higher officeholders were prevailingly Russian then, whereas now, with the exception of War and Foreign Affairs, the Departments (Interior, Education, Justice, Finance, Commerce and Industry, Comptroller's Office) are headed by Bessarabians. They object to the control of the zemstvos by the local Roumanian

peasants, and to the replacement of Russian by Roumanian in the courts. It appears that in Bessarabia (as in the Bucovina with the Germans), many Russian office-holders and professors, who did not know Roumanian, resigned and left for Russia; otherwise, all Bessarabian judges and college professors retained their positions, as was the case e. g., at the University of Czernowitz. I must confess that, at the risk of doing injustice to Mr. Krupensky, I cannot help lumping him with the very delightful and persuasive Russian landholders who have become permanent exiles from their country in consequence of agrarian reform. The first Bessarabian elections, in November, 1919, brought out 385,630 voters, of the 505,393 registered; 5% of the ballots were declared void. The election was an overwhelming victory for the Peasants' Party, which elected 72 candidates; the Workingmen's Democratic Party had 3, the Nationalist Conservative and People's League 4, and the Independents 9. There were elected not only Roumanians but also Ruthenians, Germans, Bulgarians, Gagaoutz, Greeks and Jews. The province has taken hold of Roumanian politics with apparent gusto. I talked in Bucharest in 1919 with several Roumanians who had stood for office up in Bessarabia, and had wonders to tell of the impassability of the roads and the inadequacy of the railroads; I regret to say that one of them, the brilliant Director Danielopol of the National Bank, lost his life through having contracted black small-pox in a peasant's hut which the exigencies of the campaign and the difficulties of the road had forced him to accept for shelter.

In the second election, in the spring of 1920, the Peasants' Party, which had shown receptivity to Bolshevik agitators, lost ground. I think we can trust the new provinces of Greater Roumania, which taken together outweigh the former kingdom, to preserve themselves from the carpet-bagging which has been the great curse of Jugo-Slavia.

The new province of Bessarabia derives its name from the Turks, who so called it from the ruler, Bessarab, under whom they first came to know it. Its area is about 17,000 square miles, a little under Vermont and New Hampshire combined. It lies between the Pruth and the Dniester as they flow down to the Black Sea from the Carpathians; in the northwest it is hilly, but most of it is the famous black earth steppe of Southern Russia, wonderfully suited for wheat-growing. Its population depends directly or indirectly almost entirely on agriculture; there is only one large city, Kishineff, of some 130,000 inhabitants, of whom about one-half are Jews. Hotin, Soroca, Baltz, Ismail and Akkerman are about 35,000 each. According to the census of 1908, the population was 2,344,800, of whom the Russians claimed 28%, giving less than 54% to the Roumanians; according to the Roumanian estimate, the present percentage is 64% Roumanian, 12½% Russian (or Ukrainian), 10% Jewish, 5½% Bulgarian, 4¼ German; 3% are Protestants, 10% Hebrew, 1% Roman Catholic, 3% Mohammedan, the rest Greek Orthodox. The railroads (wide gauge, two metres, as in Russia) cover only about 530 miles, and of improved highway there are only about 60 miles! It is true that the Pruth is navigable up to

Leorda (150 miles) for grain-boats, and 2½ million hectolitres of grain have been so transported in one year, and the Dniester, which is a slow winding stream, is navigable for over 500 miles. With the lack of communications goes a lack of schooling; in 1908, 35% only of the men could read and write Russian, and 23% of the women. The Roumanians estimate that less than 20% of the men can read and write Roumanian, and less than 5% of the women. The Russian Government had forbidden the importation or possession of Roumanian books and newspapers, and when the Bessarabians began publishing in Roumanian after the declaration of autonomy, they used the Cyrillic (Russian) letters, which have been discarded in Roumania for half a century. Imagine the school problem which results!

In the chapter on agriculture, we have tabulated the Bessarabian products. The harvest of 1918 did not satisfy local requirements, and the American Food Administration had to distribute over 3000 tons of flour to meet the need. The 1919 harvest was good. The provincial budget 1918-1919, based on revenue estimates, was for 64 million lei, while expenditures were 111 million; the 1919-1920 budget opened extraordinary credits for 180 million lei. The Government report for 1920 states that 547,493 hectares (1 ha.= 2.47 acres) were planted in wheat, with a crop of 4,848,297 quintals; 111,227 ha. of rye produced 959,590 quintals; barley was grown on 743,546 ha., with 5,766,075 quintals; oats, 113,554 ha., with 1,012,416 quintals; 5932 ha. of colza gave 30,723 quintals; and 2265 ha. of flax produced 12,548 quintals. About

60% of the area under cultivation belonged to small farmers, 35% to farmers' associations and 5% to large owners. The spring crop reports of May, 1921, give a half million hectares in spring wheat; 200,000 in rye; 13,000 in Indian corn; 104,000 in barley and 46,000 in oats. A Government statement of early 1921 reports that 3628 large holdings, containing 1,669,000 ha., have been proposed for expropriation, and 227,861 ha. have already been expropriated, 29,025 remaining to the former owners; for the 198,836 acquired, the State is said to have paid 81,869,215 lei. Thirteen million lei had already been paid in to the State on account by the new owners.

Bessarabia is almost entirely agricultural; only 232 manufacturing establishments of any kind are reported, of which Kishineff has 80 and Baltz 43. Grain mills and vegetable oil mills are the chief industries, there being 60 of the latter, many of which make soap also. There are 138 small establishments—woodworking plants, woollen mills, knitting mills, brick-yards, etc.—employing altogether only 1620 men and 341 women in 1920. Their net profits were 9,340,055 lei. The average daily wage was 28 lei, as contrasted with 2½ rubles before the war. The h. p. used in the mills amounted to only 1738.

Industrially, therefore, Bessarabia is backward, and offers an inviting field to the capitalist. The present situation there shows much friction, caused by the natural mistakes of a new administration, the slow improvement in transportation facilities (their greatest need), Soviet and other Russian propaganda and even terrorism (three bomb explosions on

the railways reported by early June, 1921, papers); but we can trust the innate conservatism and love of order of the Roumanian peasant to surmount all these difficulties and make Bessarabia a land not merely of plenty but of contentment and progress.

The negotiations between the Great Powers and Roumania over the Bessarabian Treaty dragged on till late October, 1920. The final text runs as follows:

The British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, principal Allied Powers, and Roumania:

Considering that in the interest of general European peace it is of importance to ensure from now on over Bessarabia a sovereignty corresponding to the aspirations of the inhabitants, and guaranteeing to the racial, religious and linguistic minorities there the protection which is due them;

Considering that from the geographical, ethnographic, historic and economic viewpoints, the union of Bessarabia to Roumania is fully justified;

Considering that the inhabitants of Bessarabia have manifested their desire to see Bessarabia united to Roumania:

Considering finally that Roumania has of her own free will the desire to give sure guarantees of liberty and of justice, without distinction of race, religion or language, in conformity with the Treaty signed at Paris Dec. 9, 1919, to the inhabitants of the former kingdom of Roumania, as well as to those of the territories newly transferred;

Have resolved to conclude the present treaty. . . . :

Art. 1. The High Contracting Parties declare that they recognize the sovereignty of Roumania over the territory of Bessarabia, comprised within the present Roumanian frontier, the Black Sea, the course of the Dniester from its mouth to the point where it is cut by the former line between the Bucovina and Bessarabia, and this former line.

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Art. 2. A commission composed of three members, one of whom shall be named by the principal Allied Powers, one by Roumania and one by the Council of the Society of Nations on account of Russia, shall be constituted within the fortnight following the putting in force of the present Treaty, to fix on the spot the new boundary line of Roumania.

Art. 3. Roumania binds herself to observe and cause to be observed rigorously on the territory of Bessarabia indicated in Art. 1, the stipulations of the Treaty signed at Paris, Dec. 9, 1919, by the principal Allied and Associated Powers and by Roumania, and notably to ensure there to the inhabitants without distinction of race, language or religion, the same guarantees of liberty and justice as to the other inhabitants of all other territories forming part of the kingdom of Roumania.

Art. 4. Roumanian nationality with full rights shall be acquired, to the exclusion of all other, by the subjects of the former Russian Empire established in the territory of Bessarabia as indicated in Art. 1.

Art. 5. Within the term of two years after the putting in force of the present treaty, the subjects of the former Russian Empire over 18 years of age and established in the territory of Bessarabia, as indicated in Art. 1, will have the right of choosing any other nationality that may be open to them. The husband's choice will carry with it the wife's, and the parents' choice will carry the children's under 18 years of age. Such persons as have exercised the right of choice above provided for, shall within the following twelvemonth move their domicile into the state in whose favour they have pronounced themselves. They shall be free to keep what real estate they possess on Roumanian soil. They may carry away with them all their personal property of whatever description. No export duty shall be levied on them for this.

Art. 6. Roumania recognizes as Roumanian subjects,

with full rights and without any formality, the subjects of the former Russian Empire who were born on Bessarabian territory, as indicated in Art. 1, of parents there domiciled, even though at the date when the present treaty enters into force, they themselves may not be there domiciled. However, within the two years following the putting into force of the present treaty, these persons may declare before the proper Roumanian authority in the country of their residence that they renounce Roumanian nationality, and they will then cease to be regarded as Roumanian subjects. In this respect the husband's declaration shall be considered valid for the wife, and the parents' declaration shall be considered valid for the children under 18 years of age.

Art. 7. The High Contracting Parties recognize that the Danube mouth known as the Kilia Channel should pass under the jurisdiction of the European Danube Commission.

While waiting for the conclusion of a general convention for the international regulation of watercourses, Roumania binds herself to apply to the portions of the Dniester River system which may be included within her bounds or which may form her frontiers, the regulations provided for in the first paragraph of Art. 332 and in Arts. 333-338 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany of June 28, 1919.

Art. 8. Roumania will assume the responsibility of the proportional share falling to Bessarabia of the Russian Public Debt and of all other financial engagements of the Russian State, as shall be determined by a special convention between the principal Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Roumania on the other. This convention shall be prepared by a commission designated by the said powers. In case the commission does not reach an agreement within the term of two years, the points in question shall be immediately submitted to the arbitration of the Council of the Society of Nations.

Art. 9. The High Contracting Parties shall invite Rus-

sia to sign the present treaty, as soon as there shall exist a Russian Government recognized by them. They reserve the right to submit to the arbitration of the Council of the Society of Nations all questions that may be raised by the Russian Government concerning the details of this treaty. . . . The sovereignty of Roumania over the territories here comprised, shall not be called in question. All difficulties which may arise after the application of the treaty shall be handled in like manner.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the signatory powers. It shall not enter into force until after the deposit of these ratifications and after the entry into force of the treaty signed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Roumania on Dec. 9, 1919. The deposit of the ratifications shall be carried out at Paris. The Powers with seat of government outside of Europe shall have the right to confine themselves to notifying the Government of the French Republic, through their diplomatic representative at Paris, that their ratification has been given, and in that case they will have to transmit the instrument as rapidly as may be. An attested statement of the deposit of ratification shall be drawn up. The French Government shall remit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy in conformity with the attested statement of the deposit of ratification.

Done at Paris, the twenty-eighth of October, one thousand nine hundred and twenty, in one sole copy which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, and of which authentic copies shall be remitted to each of the Powers signing the Treaty.

The policy of the Wilson Administration forbade recognition of the smaller Western states which seceded from Russia; and this policy has been continued by the State Department under the Harding Administration, so that this treaty is not yet recog-

nized as valid by the United States, alone of the Great Powers.

We must not take leave of Bessarabia without some mention of the great mass of Roumanians who live the other side of the Dniester, in the rich black earth regions of Podolia and Cherson. According to the Russian census of 1897, the number of persons speaking exclusively Roumanian in these districts was about 225,000. They form a homogeneous continuation of the Roumanians of Bessarabia, having the same dialect, songs, ballads, costumes and customs. In the break-up of Russia after Kerensky's fall, they endeavoured to be annexed to Bessarabia, and sent delegates to Kishineff; but the political difficulties involved were too great, and they will doubtless continue to revolve about Odessa (which is almost within their limits) and Kieff, whatever may be the ultimate fate of the Ukraine.

CHAPTER XII

TRANSYLVANIA

AMONG the interesting interviews which I had in Buda-Pesth in late 1919 was one with a giant Magyar, a minister of Friedrich's, whose conversation was a mixture of whining over the dismemberment of Hungary by the Entente, and chauvinistic bombast over its futility. "All these subject nationalities," said he, "Serbs, Slovaks, Roumanians, whom the Supreme Council is cutting off from our body politic, must inevitably return; for they are naturally subordinate, and we are naturally the masters. But," he added, "you can't be expected to understand that, for you are Indo-European, Aryan, and we are Turanians!"

That, in brief, is the Magyar attitude. It injects an element of greater partisanship into the Transylvanian question; it has been bolstered up abroad by an admirable propaganda service (the very day of the armistice, three pro-Hungarian articles appeared in London newspapers, and through the Protestant religious weeklies they have succeeded in maintaining a remarkably active campaign for sympathy and funds); indeed, the Magyars have had a favourable press abroad ever since Kossuth's day; and the attractive members of the Hungarian aristocracy and officialdom in Buda-Pesth have succeeded in making active partisans not only out of British and

American correspondents but even army officers! The result is that it is exceedingly difficult to take a detached attitude, even in discussing purely historical matters; and I never knew the truth harder to get at than it was in Buda-Pesth in late 1919; while reading Roumanian and Hungarian histories is like studying the War of 1812 in Canadian and American accounts!

At any rate, there is no doubt even from Hungarian statistics that the Magyars have been in a minority in Hungary as a whole, and still more so in Transylvania. By Transylvania (Ardeal in Roumanian, Erdély in Hungarian, Siebenbürgen in German) we mean the region bounded by the Carpathians or their outrunners on the north, east and south, and on the west by the Crishana and the Banat. It forms a hilly and well-watered plateau, with a landscape and climate much like that of the middle Appalachian region of the United States; at Sibiu (Hermannstadt), during the 5-year period 1906-1910, the lowest temperature recorded was -28.4°C . (-19°F .), and the highest 34.3°C . (95°F .); the mean December temperature was 32° , and for January 25° ; for July and August just under 68° . Politically it comprises 15 counties of the former kingdom of Hungary with an area of about 22,220 sq. miles, somewhat smaller than the state of West Virginia, but with over twice its population. According to the Hungarian official figures, Transylvania contained 2,166,236 inhabitants in 1869, and 2,678,367 in 1910. Eighty-seven per cent. of this population is rural; in fact, there are no large cities in Transylvania. The census assigns the Rou-

manians 55% of the total, 34.3 % to the Hungarians (in which figure are incorporated 64,000 Jews, 2.4%), and 8.7% to the Germans. The Hungarians are lumped in 5 counties, which together show 612,000 Hungarians (exactly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole) and 277,000 Roumanians. Four of these counties form a linguistic island in far eastern Transylvania, next the Carpathians; these Magyars (the Szeklers) are isolated in a Roumanian sea, and their economic interests have always united them with their Roumanian neighbours on both sides of the Carpathians, while they have had little to do with the Hungarians of the remote plain beyond the Theiss.

There is no doubt the Hungarians have padded these figures to their own benefit, the question asked having been: "Which language do you speak by preference?" A closer approximation is offered by the tables of religious affiliation. The Roumanians are almost exactly divided between the Greek Oriental and Greek Catholic (Uniate) Churches. These two have 1,542,268 communicants, from which must be deducted 1759 Ruthenians, 225 Bulgarians and 421 Serbs; and we must add 6249 Roman Catholics. That gives the Roumanians 57% of the population of Transylvania. The Greek Oriental Church has 29.6% of the whole, the Greek Catholic 28, the Roman Catholic 14, the Reformed 15, Evangelical $8\frac{1}{2}$, Unitarian $2\frac{1}{2}$, Jewish, $2\frac{1}{2}$.

We have already mentioned the long-standing controversy whether Magyars or Roumanians are the older race in Transylvania. The pro-Magyar argument rests largely on the use of *desertum* (wilderness) in an early document to describe this

region—from which they draw the hardly warranted deduction that it was without inhabitants—and on the lack of explicit mention of Wallachians here till some time after it is known that there were Magyars in this district. But as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we find Voyevodes in Transylvania. The Voyevode was the military chief among the ancient Slavs; during the long period when the Slavs and Roumanians were intermingled, the Roumanians adopted this institution and term, as they did many others; the Slav unit, e. g., was the valley, and the Roumanians are designated as Oltean, Bistritzean, etc., from the river valley they inhabit. As with the Slavs, the family bulked large with the Transylvania Roumanians; numerous are their villages whose names end in -eshti, which means the descendants of, co-members of a family with. These institutions seem to date from that early period when Slav and Wallach formed one people in Transylvania, and to have survived the devastation of the Tartar invasion of the middle of the thirteenth century, in which almost all written documents must have been destroyed. We do not even possess any of the twelfth and thirteenth century patents of the Saxon colonies in Transylvania, who had every possible government facilitation. The early Slav and Roumanian place names have been preserved all over Transylvania, just as in Wallachia.

It would appear reasonable then that these German colonists who were settled through Transylvania at the end of the Middle Ages and even founded Câmpu-Lung (Langenfeld) in Wallachia, entered a region settled, even if sparsely, by Rou-

manian shepherds and farmers. That these Roumanians had an organization is shown, e. g., by a document of 1222 giving the Teutonic Order certain privileges, which speaks of a "terra Blachorum" next the "terra Siculorum"—a land of the Wallachs next that of the Szeklers. Pressure upon these Wallachs led them to emigrate; the Voyevode of Făgăraș crossed the Carpathians not long after 1300 and founded the Principality of Wallachia; in 1365, the last Roumanian Voyevode of the Maramureș, Bogdan, led his forces over the mountain passes and established the Principality of Moldavia.

The Magyars were now installed as rulers of Transylvania. They had brought with them the feudal system, and the burdens on the Roumanian peasantry, now reduced to the status of serfs, grew heavier and heavier. In 1526 the Turks defeated the Hungarian army at Mohács, killing the last King of Hungary, Ladislaus II. The Hungarian plain, the Banat and Croatia passed under direct Turkish administration; the north and northwest were assigned to the Hapsburgs; Transylvania, the Crishana and the Maramureș became an independent Principality, governed by a prince chosen from among the Magyar landed aristocracy. He had to pay a small tribute to the Sultan, but was otherwise practically undisturbed. Under Michael the Brave, all Transylvania became for a couple of years part of Roumania; and Peter Rărescu united a large share of it for several years to Moldavia. But the Hapsburgs coveted the province; Austrian generals tried in vain in 1545 and 1601 to conquer it; in 1687, Duke Charles of Lorraine was successful. Transyl-

vania was given a constitution, called the Diploma Leopoldinum, from the Emperor; this was accepted on January 10, 1691, by the Diet of Transylvania, and the Emperor took the title of Prince of Transylvania. This constitution lasted till 1848, during all of which time the province was autonomous under Austria, with no connection with Buda-Pesth.

The Hungarian mastery of Transylvania dates from the Kossuth movement in 1848. He aimed at a Greater Hungary, independent of Austria, and was successful in incorporating both Transylvania and Croatia for a few months; but with Russian aid, Francis Joseph crushed the movement for the moment, and Transylvania regained a certain autonomy, with some rights for the Roumanians, who had previously had none at all. But Austria grew weaker before the Prussian and Italian menace; Bismarck gave powerful aid to the Magyars; and in 1865 the Transylvanian Diet, meeting at Cluj (Klausenburg, Kolozsvár), voted (against unanimous Roumanian protest) annexation of Transylvania to Hungary.

It was only a couple of generations since the Hungarians had "discovered" the Magyar tongue. Despised as the language of the peasantry, unintelligible to any Western European, the Hungarian aristocracy had neglected their own speech, with all its wealth of popular literature and of poetry. Latin was the language of the Parliament at Buda-Pesth; not till 1830 was Hungarian used for the reply to the Address from the Throne. Count Stephen Széchenyi was the leader in this campaign to rehabilitate a noble language; he was successful beyond his wildest dreams. Enthusiasts at once

began insisting that Hungarian should be used to the exclusion of all other vernaculars throughout Hungary; and Széchenyi, in his inaugural as first President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in 1842, warned against the excesses of this "Magyar zeal." One of the most thoughtful of the Germans of Transylvania, High Commissioner Joseph Bedeus of Scharberg, writing to his sons about the events of 1848 and the ambitions of the Magyars there disclosed, says very truly: "The verse applied by a clever historian to the Hungarians: *nec iugi patiens, nec libertatis capax*, has been brilliantly justified by them from the earliest times; they never would bear the yoke, but they cannot stand freedom. . . . The motive which drove the Magyars to union was vanity and national pride; they were hurt at the unobserved disappearance among the other much smaller provinces, of the Hungarian crown-lands, which form the largest and strongest component of the Austrian monarchy; at their appearing as an appendage to unimportant Austria; at their being ruled by a foreign German ministry. Accordingly they wanted to fuse Hungary and Transylvania completely and make a large and compact body, for which to secure a separate government, independent of Austria and the Germans. That was the ostensible aim of their efforts; but the initiated went much further with their plans. They wanted to unite and strengthen the Hungarian element scattered over both countries, and then with their united forces suppress all other nationalities and languages throughout the country, fuse their representatives with themselves and turn them into

Hungarians, thus claim supreme sway for Magyarism, then form a separate united indivisible self-sufficient independent Hungarian intermediate state, and finally cut this loose from Austria."

This severe judgment has been only too well carried out by the event. The Hungarians have been in the habit of pointing to the liberal provisions of their constitution, as proof that the Roumanians in Transylvania were not justified in their protests. One need not go over the ground so admirably traversed by Mr. Seton-Watson; suffice it to point out that the Hungarian Law of Nationalities prescribes that in the counties where the Roumanians are in the majority, the prefects and other officials should be Roumanian—whereas there never has been in these counties one prefect or vice-prefect of that nationality! It prescribes that in these counties, Roumanian shall be the language of the courts and public administration—a regulation also never carried out; indeed, one saw only Hungarian street-signs in towns almost exclusively Roumanian. The climax of disingenuousness is reached in the Hungarian propaganda documents by quoting the number of elementary schools—3500 in 1905—in which Roumanian *was* the language of instruction—as proof of the thoughtful care of the Hungarian State for its Roumanian wards! These schools were founded and maintained at their own expense by the Transylvanian Roumanians themselves; but once established, the central government stepped in and insisted (1879) that the instructors should learn Hungarian, so as to be able to teach in that language; in 1907 Count Apponyi ruled that the schools

where the instructors had not made sufficient progress should be replaced by Hungarian schools; in 1917, he closed the Roumanian normal schools; but the ferment caused by the Russian Revolution caused their reopening. He did, however, succeed in that year in banishing Roumanian altogether from the primary schools. The net result of this anti-Roumanian campaign has been, not a falling-off in the use of Roumanian as a colloquial language, but a far greater illiteracy among the Roumanians of Transylvania. There was one gymnasium (lycée) in their own tongue for every 26,000 Germans in Transylvania, and one for every 43,000 Hungarians; for the Roumanians, one for every 550,000! and this in spite of the urgent appeal of the Roumanian church authorities to be allowed to found more at their own expense! Accordingly, the percentage of illiteracy in the Roumanian counties of Transylvania runs as high as 65 and 70 per cent!

We have just mentioned the solicitude of the Roumanian church authorities. They have been among the leading champions of their race, and we must sketch briefly the religious history of this province, particularly as the Hungarians are now utilizing religious prejudice in their propaganda.

The Roumanians of Transylvania remained with the Oriental Church after the Great Schism, like their congeners in the Danube provinces; but during the first Hungarian period, terminating with the battle of Mohács, there was a strong proselyting influence exerted by the court toward Roman Catholicism. Intercourse with Rome had a powerful effect on the young Roumanian students who went to study

there, and discovered that they were Latins, with affiliations in the West, and not Orientals. Still more vital was the influence of the Reformation, in that it led to the beginnings of Roumanian literature and of that self-consciousness which the possession of a literature brings with it. The Hussite movement had prospered among the Slovak peasants next the Maramuresh; many of them passed over into tolerant Moldavia to escape the persecution of the Catholic Emperor Sigismund, who had burned Huss himself at the stake in Constance. In 1416 at Trotush in Moldavia they translated the Gospels into Hungarian; and later in the century they began translation into Roumanian; the most famous MSS are the Psalter of Scheia and the Gospel Codex of Voronetz, both Transylvanian and ancient and dignified in style.

In 1557 the Lutherans won their recognition from the Diet; in 1564 the Calvinists; in 1571 the Unitarians. In 1544 appeared at Sibiu (Hermannstadt), the first Roumanian printed book—a Lutheran catechism. About 1560 a Wallachian deacon named Coresi established a Roumanian press at Brashov (Brasso, Kronstadt) in Transylvania. He brought out a Roumanian Gospels in 1561; then a Prayer Book and the Acts; in 1564 a Commentary on the Gospels; between 1565 and 1577 three editions of the Psalms; in 1580 the Gospels, with Church Slavonic parallel text; in 1581 a new Orthodox Commentary on the Gospels. All this proselyting roused the Orthodox elements in Wallachia; and under Michael the Brave, in 1595, the supremacy of the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Târgovishte

in Wallachia was recognized for all of Transylvania. This constituted a link with Roumania proper of the highest importance.

The victory of the Hapsburgs over the Turks renewed the Roman Catholic propaganda in Transylvania—this time under a very able Jesuit, Baranyi. In 1697 the Roumanian bishop Theophilus and his synod accepted in principle the supremacy of the Pope; his successor Athanasius wanted to renew affiliation with the Metropolitan of Wallachia, and Constantine Brancovan encouraged him in this direction; but the Vienna government had by this time sanctioned the arrangement made by Theophilus, and Athanasius and his clergy passed over to the Roman communion. They preserved, however, all the orthodox rites, ceremonial and usages, together with the Julian calendar (which has been abolished in Roumania proper only just now), so that a service in the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church is almost indistinguishable from one in the Greek Orthodox. So the peasantry made no objection; and the Roumanians in Transylvania derived the advantages that came from a church administration in close connection with Vienna and with Rome. The Vienna government always looked favourably on the Roumanian Catholics; and as the Roumanian peasants were always devoted to the person of the Emperor, whom they considered their champion against the exactions of the Hungarians, relations were far more cordial with Vienna than with Buda-Pesth. From their intercourse with Rome, the budding priests derived moreover full knowledge of the liberties and progress of the western world, as well as the conscious-

ness of their Latin origin of which I have spoken. As half the priests and communicants remained with the Orthodox Church, relations with Roumania itself maintained the feeling of Roumanian solidarity which was to become a great bugbear for the Hungarian government. Thus Transylvania and the whole Roumanian race were greatly benefited by this religious competition and persecution; they caused the foundation of the two Principalities, the beginnings of the literature, the cultivation of the language, the awakening of national consciousness.

Meanwhile, the sufferings of the downtrodden Roumanian peasant had led to various efforts to lighten the burden. A bloody revolution broke out in 1437, and the nobles were forced to accept the Agreement of Kolos-Monostor of July 6, which made an exact enumeration of the obligations of both master and serf, on terms quite liberal to the latter. In an attempt to avoid their obligations, the Magyar, Szekler and German nobles met immediately afterward and formed the famous *Unio Trium Nationum*—an association of the privileged classes to avoid granting the concessions just exacted. That led to another peasant uprising, again successful; this time, the serfs gained the right to change masters, once their debts were paid up. But again the Union of the Three Nationalities refused to keep faith; the peasants rose a third time, but were crushed in January, 1438. Another revolution broke out in 1514, under Doja, who had distinguished himself against the Turks; this time the small land-holders took part also against their lords, and the Roumanians were only the most numerous

nationality in Doja's army. But he lost the day, also; and the nobles gained the right of life and death over their serfs, together with an increase of the tithes and labour due from the serf. There was a brief improvement under the Roumanian King of Hungary, John Hunyádi, and his famous son Matthias Corvinus; but in general the attitude of the ruling classes is well summarized by the declaration of the Transylvanian Diet in 1576, in the midst of the Protestant propaganda to convert the Roumanians: "The Roumanian nationality has no political rights whatever, for it is foreign, together with its religion, and is tolerated in this country only temporarily, so long as it pleases the Prince and the citizens of the realm." Even the conquest of Transylvania by a Roumanian prince, Michael the Brave, brought no relief; and of course the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) saw no improvement. The courageous Bishop Innocent Klein (Micu) of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, in the 24 petitions he addressed to the Emperor Charles VI between 1730 and 1740, reminds him that not only have the schools promised to the Roumanians by the Act of Union, never been granted, but that children of Roumanians are forbidden to go to school, are not received as apprentices, may not take any public office, "may not buy, may not inherit, have no desire to plant vineyards or cultivate gardens for others to come and ruin, have no water or forest rights, have nothing but many heavy burdens to bear, by the fulfilment of which they not merely get no consideration as sons of their country, but are not even tolerated." The Emperor transmitted these

complaints to the Transylvanian Diet, which replied in 1735 that there was no real Union, "for these Wallachs are altogether ignorant and confirmed schismatics. . . . They cannot be called a nationality, for they are nothing but a horde of peasants, all serfs, tramps, fugitives, half-savage if not altogether so, given over to all evils and crimes, hostile to the Catholics and the Catholic faith, and with an opportunity would be the greatest persecutors of this faith. Their nobility is weak, and is not capable of filling public office. They are not even true believers. In the uprising under Rákoczy, they were all in his camp, and committed every kind of misdeed against the nobles, burning their castles, stealing their cattle and ruining their crops. The bandits, of whom the country is full, are chosen from among them, and the land-owners are constantly terrorized by these stiff-necked fugitive serfs, under threat of fire and sword. They fear neither God nor man. . . . This Bishop of theirs has no comprehension of politics, is no statesman, has no solicitude for the law. He is not even capable of delivering a speech in Hungarian. He cannot be acknowledged to have any right of speaking for his nationality, for this nationality does not exist. These vagabonds have no territory of their own, but are scattered among the rest. To admit to the Diet this incompetent in the name of a people of savages would be an affront to the chief families of Transylvania and even to the Catholic priesthood. Let the Bishop rather look to his priests and suffragans, who are a set of villains. To lead them out of their darkness would be beyond the powers of ten bishops and

theological advisers." Micu was met with the same manner of insults when he later asked of these fine crusted old Junkers some of the rights guaranteed by the Diploma Leopoldinum; and when he appeared in person before the Diet in 1737, to speak "in the name of the Roumanian nationality of Transylvania," he was interrupted by the combined cries of Magyar and German: "There is no Wallachian nationality! There is only a Wallach rabble! Down with him! Take back your words! Out with him! Beg our pardon!" They even tried to make Micu ban the Roumanian language from church services for the Latin. He decided to try and wake up the national consciousness, and called an assembly in 1744 at Blaj, to which he explained the promises of Vienna, the Diploma Leopoldinum, and the attitude of the Hungarian gentry. He failed; but the institution of three Roumanian regiments of boundary-guards was a powerful stimulant to national feeling. Maria Theresa made some slight improvements, also, in the condition of the serf; he now had three days a week for himself, did not have to feed his master's stock for nothing, and a woman serf might not receive more than 24 strokes of the lash! But enlistment put an end to all these exactions; the peasants flocked in in troops to join the army; when the nobles, in alarm, stopped the recruiting, a veritable revolution broke out (in 1784), under Nicholas Ursu, called "Horia." He demanded the abolition of aristocratic privileges, the cutting-up and distribution among the peasants of the estates, equality of taxation, and the supremacy of the Orthodox religion. He was successful in his

contest against the Hungarians and Austrians, for many months; but in December his aide Clossca and he were captured, and put to death on the wheel.

Another courageous bishop arose to continue Micu's work—George Shincal. With his friends, Samuel Klein (Micu, a relative of the bishop) and Peter Maior, he devoted himself to the task of education. Klein and he got out a Roumanian grammar, using Latin and not Cyrillic letters; and he issued a series of school-books for the church schools which the enlightened Emperor Joseph II had finally allowed to be established. Joseph had also been shocked by the abuses brought to light by the Horia revolution, and in 1791 received favourably the famous memorandum of Roumanian wrongs which is called the "Supplex Libellus Valachorum." This claimed that the Roumanians were the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania, having been found there by Trajan; that by the census of 1760 they formed two-thirds of its population, being a million in number in 1790; that they should therefore have the same rights with the rest of the population. Clergy and laity, whether Orthodox or Uniate, should be treated on a par with Hungarians or Germans; in Roumanian districts there should be Roumanian officials in proportion to the population; the language should be used exclusively in altogether Roumanian districts, and concurrently in others; and there should be a Roumanian assembly. This document was not unwelcome at Vienna, but was rejected *in toto* by the Transylvanian Diet, to which it was referred; and the only important improvement to which it led was Joseph's decree of August 22, 1785, abolish-

ing serfdom. That is, at the period when George Washington had just been inaugurated, the Roumanian serfs of Transylvania received the right of calling themselves persons in law, of buying and selling the land on which they had grown up like slaves; but their economic and intellectual slavery was not to be abolished by a mere imperial fiat. However, the influence of the French Revolution tended to ameliorate conditions in Transylvania, as elsewhere; and the distinction between Uniates and Orthodox, artificially stimulated by Vienna and Buda-Pesth on the immemorial principle of "Divide et impera," began to disappear before the consciousness of Roumanian unity.

The great figure in this movement during the nineteenth century was Andrew Shaguna. His people were Kutzo-Vlachs from down in Macedonia. He began his ecclesiastical career as a Greek Catholic, but went over to the Orthodox Church, in which his great talents advanced him rapidly; and in the crisis of 1848 he became Bishop of Sibiu (Hermannstadt). Just consecrated by the Serb Patriarch, head of the Orthodox Church in Austro-Hungary, he was the most prominent figure at the great meeting of 40,000 Roumanians at Sibiu on May 3, 1848—a meeting in which were Cipariu and Laurian, future leaders of Roumanian intellectuals in Transylvania, as well as the poet Alecsandri, and the future Prince Alexander Cuza. The chairman, Prof. Barnutz, revived the claims of the *Supplex Libellus*, and demanded recognition of the Roumanians as an autonomous nationality, integral part of Transylvania, with liberty equal to that of the others. Shaguna, in a modest

and moderate speech, begged all to remember that whether Uniates or Orthodox, they were brothers; and he reminded them of the interest which the Emperor took in them. The new Emperor, Francis Joseph, had good reason to be grateful to Shaguna, for the latter went down to Bucharest with the German representative Gottfried Müller and induced the Czar's generals to intervene against Kossuth to save the Austrians. On February 6, 1849, Shaguna had his first interview with the young Emperor, at Olmütz, and found him favourable to granting the Roumanians the rights long since promised them; but the Hungarians always succeeded in blocking the way, and in 1861, when Shaguna had almost reached his goal of a co-ordinate Orthodox church organization in Transylvania (the Uniates had succeeded in having a Metropolitan appointed in 1853), he wrote sadly à propos of delays: "I am struck with the complete similarity with the circumstances of 1848, when they were still giving us fine words. But what was the use? They stayed words, and even after a dozen years they have failed to take on form. We foresee that after another dozen years we shall be lying still deeper in the ditch." Shaguna did have the satisfaction of being named Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in 1863; but his last days were depressed by the increasing Magyar persecution, of which we must now present some examples.

Gerrymander is an American word; but Hungary gave classic specimens of the art, by the use of which (and of other electoral devices) the Hungarians succeeded in electing some 400-odd delegates, and the non-Hungarian *majority*—Serbs, Slovaks and Rou-

manians—7! One of the neatest of the election laws was the famous "half-hour law," which provided that if only one nomination had come in by the end of the first half-hour after the opening of the polls, that candidate was declared elected without further pother. Under Magyar management of the polls, that simplified elections enormously. The few Roumanian newspapers were constantly prosecuted and suppressed. The *Tribuna* of Sibiu in 1903 figured up that in the previous ten years it had paid 57,000 crowns (\$11,400) in fines, and its editors had been condemned to 17 years' imprisonment! The writer Aurelius Popovici was given four years' imprisonment for a pamphlet in which he had inveighed against Magyar chauvinism; his defenders, the well-known authors Slavici and Rusu Sireano had also to take a year's imprisonment. In 1911 the poet Octavian Goga, who was to represent Transylvania in the first Parliament of Greater Roumania, received eight months' imprisonment for patriotic poems. The total penalties laid upon Roumanian newspapermen of Transylvania for the twenty-year period 1896-1916 came to over 250,000 crowns, and one hundred years in prison! And the Hungarian gendarmes carried on a petty persecution in every direction, comparable to those of the Austrians at Riva, or the Germans in Schleswig. At Hanarade, the wife of the local Roumanian priest was fined and imprisoned for offering Dr. Julius Maniu (who became perhaps the most distinguished Transylvanian in Bucharest during the new régime of Greater Roumania), a bouquet tied with the Roumanian tricolour ribbon. The war redoubled Magyar

vigilance, for the sympathy of the Roumanian intellectuals was strongly with France and Italy; and after Roumania came in, the pressure was still increased. But the Russian Revolution, and the menace of the Hungarian proletariat, brought about a reform movement at last. Poor Charles I, in a still greater crisis than that in which his great-uncle had received Shaguna, demanded electoral reform from the Hungarians. Count Tisza resigned; Count Esterhazy seems to have made genuine efforts to carry out the new Emperor's wishes; but the Hungarian Junkers blocked his path; and he made way for Baron Wekerle. He evolved a law which was quite comparable to those in the Southern United States, taking an educational qualification as criterion; only males over 24 able to read and write should have the suffrage; and his secretary naïvely states that in Transylvania under this system "of the 64 election districts, there would be, according to the latest statistics, only four where the Roumanian element would be in the majority"! The Hungarian Government had spent millions of crowns colonizing Hungarians in Transylvania, from 1906 on, just as the Prussian Government did in Poland; and after the war began, they increased their effort. To revenge themselves upon the Transylvanian Roumanians, who had fraternized with the Roumanian troops during the Roumanian invasion of Transylvania, they passed an edict forbidding all Roumanians of the border region to buy or sell property—evidently with huge colonization projects in mind.

Transylvania offers then the same sad spectacle that we have seen in Alsace-Lorraine, in Poland, in

Bessarabia—the effort of a government to crush nationality and language. That is revolting even when the nationalities and language are no more widely separated than German and French, or German and Polish; but it is especially saddening when a people kinsmen of the Italians, Spaniards and French, with a language whose melody impresses every listener, is oppressed by an Oriental Hunnish oligarchy, who have kept even their own lower orders in political subjection. It is still more depressing to reflect on the part played by religious persecution, under the ægis of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, in this unhappy province; and it is disgusting to hear the whining of the former masters, now that the tables are turned. We have had the amazing spectacle of an appeal addressed to us through our religious press from “Hungarian victims of Roumanian religious persecution.” To this appeal it is a sufficient answer that the Roumanian Government, after the annexation of Transylvania, confirmed every Hungarian and German prelate in his former dignity! What a contrast with the procedure of the French in Alsace-Lorraine, and of the Poles in Posen! Where the shoe really pinches is that the Roumanian agrarian reforms are now applied to Transylvania, and the churches (which had their wealth largely in landed property) are having to see the despised Roumanian peasantry come into possession of the broad acres they had been tilling as farm labourers. The churches are compensated, to be sure, but in small annual instalments; and as the Hungarian Government had seized all their liquid funds for the prosecution of the war

against us, they are left empty-handed for the moment. It is a typically Hungarian procedure to try to convince us that it is all the fault of the Roumanians. The charge of persecution of Hungarian Catholics in the Banat was even brought up in June, 1921, by the Abbé Wetterlé in the French Chamber, at the ratification of the Trianon Treaty, and gave occasion to both Premier Briand and Mayor Herriot of Lyons (who had just returned from Roumania) to testify to the "correct attitude of the Roumanian Government, which is fully meeting its obligation to protect the ethnic minorities."

CHAPTER XIII

THE BANAT, CRISHANA AND MARAMURESH

THE Banat of Temeshvar is the region opposite Belgrade, bounded by the Danube, the Theiss, the Muresh, the Transylvanian hills and the Carpathians. It covers some 11,000 sq. mi., being larger than Vermont and smaller than Maryland. Under the Romans it was the heart of Dacia, with a net-work of Roman roads, and an active business and administrative life. Submerged by the invasions, it disappears from view till we come upon mention in the Hungarian chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of "Romanorum coloni et pastores" (Roumanian peasants and shepherds) in these parts; and the famous "Notarius Regis Belæ" (secretary of King Béla) tells us of Hungarian victories over the combined Bulgarian and Roumanian troops of a Duke Glad, ruler of this territory. The natives were Greek Orthodox in belief. In 1233 we find mention of a Hungarian ruler (Ban) of the Banat of Severin—the first use of the term; Ban is one of those designations, like Voyevode, which came into Roumania from the early Slav. His subjects were "Valachi schismatici," i. e., Roumanians of the Oriental Church. They kept a considerable autonomy; Hungarian documents up into the sixteenth century speak of their enjoyment of their own law ("antiqua lex districtum Valachicalium"), and of their having

their own judges ("judices vel kenezii," the latter term, *cnez*, also being Slav, but ultimately connected with the Teutonic *konung*, king); a charter of 1493 says: "Semper ab antiquo, quo memoria hominum comprehenderet, tali libertate usi fuissent" (they had always enjoyed such freedom from ancient times, so far as the memory of man recollects).

Like Transylvania, the Banat passed under Turkish control as a result of the Battle of Mohács (1526); and when the Austrians finally drove them out, the Turks carried away a large share of the population as slaves. Vienna imported great numbers of German colonists, largely Suabians; and there were also several waves of Serb immigration from the South, which had begun as early as 1389, after the Serb defeat of Kossovo, and 1459, when the Serb state disappeared; King Matthias Corvinus, in a letter to the Pope, even represents their numbers as 200,000; but this would appear to be a pious exaggeration, and the bulk of the Serb population probably dates from the movement of 1690 on, when thirty thousand families crossed the Danube to accept Emperor Leopold's offer of land and privileges if they would help expel the Turk. They went at first into Southern Hungary, but then began dribbling over the Theiss into the western Banat, especially after 1718. Hungarians, who had always been scarce in the Banat, came along with them; and the Germans poured in, after 1720, in ever-increasing numbers; indeed, had they not been decimated by malaria, to which, as we have seen, the Roumanian race is singularly resistant, they would probably have become the dominant race in the Banat.

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Meanwhile a large share of the Roumanian nobility had become Roman Catholic; the Serbs succeeded in capturing the Orthodox Church organization, and for 150 years the Orthodox Roumanians were subordinated to the Serb Patriarch of Carlowitz, and had to worship in Church Slavonic. It was not till 1865 that the Roumanians were granted the right to have two Roumanian Orthodox Bishops (at Caransebesh and Temeshvar), subordinate to the new Roumanian Metropolitan in Transylvania; there was already a Uniate (Greek Catholic) Bishop at Lugosh. From the political point of view, they had much the same experience as the Transylvanians; from 1869 to 1881, they had a few representatives in the Hungarian Parliament, among whom were the Mocsonyis (a Macedonian Kutzo-Vlach family), two of whom were elected to the first Parliament of Greater Roumania. In 1881 they adopted the policy of parliamentary inaction which had prevailed several years in Transylvania, and did not vote again till 1906; except that in 1888 they elected the Roumanian Gen. Trajan Doda, though he was not officially a candidate. He declined to accept the post so long as the Roumanians were deprived of their full political rights—a criticism which cost him a condemnation to two years' imprisonment!

The Banat has always formed a political unit up to the present; for administrative purposes it has been divided into three counties; the Torontal, Temesh and Carash-Severin. The Torontal is the western plain and marsh country, given up to grain-raising and vineyards, with a population (in 1910)

of 615,000; it is an extraordinary conglomeration of Germans, Magyars, Serbs and Roumanians; the two former nationalities dominate in the towns, while Serbs prevail in the western country districts, and Roumanian in the eastern. In Temesh, which is part plain and part hills, there are half a million inhabitants; the farmers are mainly Roumanian, except in the two southern districts opposite Belgrade, which are mainly Serb. In Carash-Severin, the eastern county, we find mountains reaching 7000 ft. and over; the population, some 470,000, are overwhelmingly Roumanian. According to the Hungarian census of 1910, the total population of the Banat was 1,582,133; of these, the Roumanians were 592,049 (37%); the Germans, 387,545 (24½%); the Serbs, 284,329 (18%); the Magyars, 221,509 (14%); the Jews, 20,643 (1.3%); there were also 22,131 Slovaks, 4872 Croats and 2392 Ruthenians.

It will thus be seen that the Banat presents an inextricable confusion of nationalities. Of the 36 districts, the Roumanians form more than half the population in 18; the Germans in four; the Serbs in three; the Magyars in one. If a line be drawn from Biserica-Alba (Féher-Templom) straight to the Muresh, at the junction of the Torontal and Temesh, east of this line 55% of the total population is Roumanian; west of it, no nationality has a majority (Serbs, 34%; Germans, 26%; Magyars, 20%; Roumanians, 14%; Slovaks and others, 6%).

The indivisibility of the Banat was recognized by France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia in the Treaty which they drew up with Roumania before she en-

tered the war. According to that treaty (Art. 4), the western boundary of Roumania was to run "from Algyö . . . along the thalweg of the Tisza (Theiss) down to its confluence with the Danube," and then "the thalweg of the Danube down to the present frontier of Roumania. Roumania binds herself not to erect fortifications opposite Belgrade. . . . The Royal Roumanian Government binds itself to indemnify the Serbians of the region of the Banat who, abandoning their properties, might want to emigrate in a space of two years from the conclusion of peace." It was, therefore, definitely agreed by the Powers that the Banat was to become Roumanian, without any division. But at the Peace Conference the French policy of a Greater Jugoslavia rather than a Greater Roumania prevailed, and found powerful reinforcement in the United States Delegation, who hastened to apply their principle of the self-determination of peoples. Mr. Wilson's pronouncement against recognition of secret treaties to which the United States was not a party; the disappearance of Russia as a factor; Roumania's signing the separate Treaty of Bucharest, a technical infringement of the agreement—all these furnished convenient excuses for disregarding the inconvenient promises made in the hour of extremity. Delegations of Serbs were heard in support of their claims to the western and southern part of the Banat; a subcommittee of the American Delegation drew up a line of division between Serb and Roumanian based upon numerical preponderance, without any consideration of historical, geographical or economic crite-

ria; and the Peace Conference sanctioned this line of division, which in several cases runs between the village and the school, the farm-house and the out-buildings, and cuts off the Roumanian up-country of Transylvania and the Banat from its natural and immemorial river and canal outlets! I asked a secretary of this subcommittee what he would think of a permanent line between the United States and Canada, or the United States and Mexico, based exclusively upon the census preponderance at any given moment of French Canadians in northern New England, or Mexicans in the southwestern border states. He had no answer. This new line has already caused deep dissension between Roumanian and Serb—two nationalities who have never fought in the past; and as for the Germans of the Serb Banat, they are aghast at being surrendered to Belgrade. The Serb Banat contains 100,000 Roumanians, while there are only 40,000 Serbs in the Roumanian Banat. There is a special injustice in the transaction, in that a considerable district of Serbia, south of the Danube, has a large Roumanian population. In the four districts of Kraina, Poyarevatz, Timok and Morava, which cover 4700 sq. mi., the Roumanians form either the vast majority or a large proportion of the total population, which was 635,286 in 1900; of these, the Serb census recognizes 122,429 as Roumanians; curiously enough, this is almost identical with the figure of 1859—122,593—when the four districts had only 282,378! Competent outsiders consider that there are between 200,000 and 250,000 Roumanians in this Timok region of Serbia, in spite of the persistent efforts of the Belgrade government

to Serbize them. The Serbs endeavour to denationalize them just as they do the Bulgarians; one of the most distinguished of the Roumanians of Serbia, Dr. Athanasius Popovici, was forced to adopt this latter Slav name, instead of his own, which was Furnica (the Roumanian word for "ant"). It is interesting to compare the methods of the Hungarians, which we have studied in Transylvania, and of the Serbs, who made their most chauvinistic statesman out of a boy born Bulgarian, in a recently annexed valley (and I say nothing of Greek methods), with the easy-going tolerance of Roumania. The Roumanians even allowed Hungarian propaganda schools, in Hungarian, among the Szeklers who live over the line in Moldavia; and they always welcomed the German schools in Bucharest, Jassy and elsewhere. Since the annexation of Bessarabia, they have not discontinued the Russian higher institutions of Kishineff, I was told by Mr. Inculetz, who was Bessarabian representative in the Roumanian Ministry the winter of 1919-20. In this attitude they are at one with their relatives, the Italians, who have not interfered with the French of the Val d'Aosta, the German of the Macugnaga valley (and now of the Tyrol), the Catalan of Alghero or the Albanian of Calabria and Sicily.

The Serbs even have another group of Roumanians under their control, but at a distance from the frontier—down in Old Serbia and Macedonia. In another chapter we discuss these interesting Wallachians of the Balkans, the Kutzo-Vlachs or Aromani. In the vilayets of Monastir and Kossovo, especially in the former, live many thousands of these Kutzo-

Vlachs. According to Roumanian statistics, they would total nearly 100,000. I think there can be little doubt that there are altogether at least 250,000 Roumanians in Serbia, so that the Roumanians are somewhat justified in their feeling that the annexation of 285,000 Serbs in the Banat would form a suitable counterpoise—especially as the Serbs of the Banat would retain under Roumanian government the right to the use of their own language in church services and schools—a right denied to the Roumanians in Serbia.

Much of the Serb insistence upon a share of the Banat is due to the great possibilities of this province, which is not only wealthy agriculturally, but has large manufacturing establishments. In fact, a typically annoying Jugo-Slav procedure in the fall and winter of 1919 was caused by a controversy over one of these steel plants of the Banat. It was turning out bridge material for the Jugo-Slavs when the Roumanians came into possession of this particular district, and at once commandeered the unshipped bridge material for their own ruined bridges—they being at war with Red Hungary, and having this war-right. In their pique, the Belgrade government sent directions to the Jugo-Slav railway system to allow no freight or baggage for Roumania to pass the border; and for months the Orient Express lost at the last Jugo-Slav station every trunk checked through to Bucharest or other Roumanian points! When I passed through this station in December, 1919, there was a pile of these trunks there, of imposing proportions. Indeed, the scandal was so great that an American oil company, which was send-

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ing a group of twoscore employés and their families from New York to Bucharest, and had reserved accommodations for them weeks beforehand, as was necessary, on the Orient Express, cancelled these reservations and sent them around by boat from Marseilles to Galatz, in order to avoid this baggage confiscation. A high British military officer at Bucharest had to go to the Jugo-Slav frontier to release the baggage of his wife and children, taken off the train there while they trustingly continued their journey from Lausanne. I am glad to say that Minister Grouitch informed me that this petty annoyance, so typical of Balkan methods, was done away with early in 1920.

We have seen that in Roumania proper about 80% of the population are farmers. In the Banat, this falls to 72%, while 11% is industrial, 181,000 being factory workers or dependent on them. In religion there is a great difference from Transylvania, where the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches are about on a par. In the Banat there were (1910) 856,000 Greek Orthodox, and only 36,000 Greek Catholics; the Roman Catholics total 592,000; there are 34,000 Reformed, 42,000 Evangelical, 417 Unitarians and 21,000 Jews. There were in 1910 1959 kilometres of railroad (about 1200 miles), almost all operated by the Hungarian state, but 1198 kilometres privately owned. There were over 6500 kilometres (about 4000 miles) of made highway. The steel-works are localized in Temesh (one) and Carash-Severin (four), employing 11,000 hands; other factories bring up the total number of mill-hands to

34,000. The Banat will be the industrial nucleus of Greater Roumania, and will lead in making an industrial state out of the present agricultural conditions. There were 33 Roumanian banks in existence in the Banat in 1914, the most important being the Timishana of Temeshvar, with a capital of two million crowns, plus a half million reserve. The 792 communes possessed 1142 elementary schools, of which 535 were Magyar (supported by the State), 433 Roumanian, 131 Serb, 37 German, 5 Slovak and 1 Ruthenian.

The Crishana and the Maramuresh were the other Hungarian territories prevailingly Roumanian, and assigned to the new Roumania by the treaty with the Powers. The Crishana (so called from the river Crish, Hung. Cörös) has the Maramuresh and Hungary to the north and west, the Banat on the south and Transylvania to the east. The Maramuresh (Hung. Marmoros, from the river Muresh, Hung. Moros) is bounded on the north by Galicia, on the south by Transylvania and the Crishana, on the west by the Crishana and Hungary, and on the east by the Bucovina. The western Crishana is plain country; it becomes hilly as one goes east, and the Maramuresh is prevailingly mountainous.

The Crishana is composed of nine counties; of these only three come under our consideration as prevailingly Roumanian—those of Arad, Bihor and Salagiu, plus four adjoining communes of other counties. This region comprises a little over 8000 sq. mi., or nearly the area of New Jersey, with a population (in 1910) of 1,316,981 of whom, according to the Hungarian figures of language spoken

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by preference, 655,026 were Roumanians, 580,417 Hungarians, 43,416 Germans, 25,537 Slovaks, 7130 Gypsies, 2517 Serbs, 940 Ruthenians, 636 Czechs. The religious census gives 486,014 Greek Orthodox, 208,737 Greek Catholic, 204,298 Roman Catholic, 337,806 Reformed, 22,713 Evangelical, 625 Unitarians and 52,769 Jews. Subtracting from the combined Greek Orthodox and Catholics the Serbs, Ruthenians, etc., we have 694,129 members of these churches who are not Slav, and, therefore, Roumanian—52.7% of the total population of this region of the Crishana.

The Maramuresh contains three counties, part of one of which (Ugocea) is on the right bank of the Theiss. Taking the two other countries (Maramuresh and Satul Mare), together with the eight communes of Ugocea on the left bank of the Theiss, we have an area of 6232 sq. mi., a trifle larger than that of Connecticut, with a population of 766,666. Applying the religious test to the Hungarian official figures of 1910, which (on the basis of language spoken by preference) gave these districts 322,666 Hungarians (with whom and the Germans are included the Jews!), 213,991 Roumanians, 160,057 Ruthenians, 67,008 Germans, 1354 Gypsies, 928 Slovaks and 253 Poles, we have a total of 278,284 non-Slav Greek Orthodox and Catholics (i. e., Roumanians), or 36.3%; 219,731 Hungarians, or 28.7%; 159,585 Ruthenians, or 20.8%; 96,396 Jews, or 12.6%.

These districts of the Crishana and the Maramuresh have in general had a similar development and history with Transylvania and the Banat. About

73% of their population is agricultural, and 11% dependent on industry. They had 16,500 km. (about 10,000 mi.) of good highway in 1911, and 2100 km. of railroad (about 1300 mi.). Savings-bank deposits amounted to 165 crowns (\$33) per capita in the Crishana, and 99 in the Maramuresh (1911).

In the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the close of the war, these districts united with Transylvania and the Banat in a great Roumanian demonstration, with 40,000 participants, at Alba-Julia (Karlsburg); and on November 18, 1918, this Roumanian National Assembly, under the presidency of Dr. Stephen C. Pop, who had had to suffer Magyar persecution when a Roumanian Deputy at Budapest, voted

"the union of these Roumanians and of all the territories which they inhabit, with Roumania. The National Assembly proclaims in particular the inalienable right of the Roumanian nation over the entire Banat, as comprised within the courses of the Muresh, the Theiss and the Danube.

II. The National Assembly reserves, for the above-indicated territories, provisional autonomy, up to the meeting of the Constitutional Convention elected on the basis of universal suffrage.

III. In consequence, as fundamental principles for the constitution of the new Roumanian State, the National Assembly proclaims:

1. Complete national liberty for all the peoples dwelling with the Roumanians. Each people is to receive instruction, administration and justice in its own tongue, from persons chosen from among its own representatives, and each people shall have right of representation in the legislative bodies and in the government of the country, proportional to the number of persons constituting each people.

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2. Equality of rights and complete autonomous confessional freedom for all the religious confessions of the State.

3. The definitive institution of a purely democratic régime in every field of public life. Universal direct secret communal proportional suffrage for both sexes, from the age of 21, for representation in the communes, departments or Parliament.

4. Absolute liberty of the press, of association and of public meeting; liberty of propaganda for all human ideas.

5. Radical agrarian reform. A census of all estates shall be made, particularly of the large estates. In accordance with this census, with cancellation of the *fidei-commis*, and on the basis of the right of cutting down large estates according to the needs, the peasant will be given the possibility of creating for himself a property (agricultural, in pasturage or forests) at least in such measure that his family and he can work it. The principle directing this agrarian policy is on the one hand the progress of social levelling, on the other the increase of production.

6. Industrial workers are assured of the same rights and advantages as are given them by the law in the most advanced western industrial states.

IV. The National Assembly expresses the desire that the Peace Congress create a League of Nations, free in such wise that right and liberty may be assured for all nations, small and great, equally, and that in the future, war may disappear as a means of regulating international relations.

V. The Roumanians united in this National Assembly salute their brethren in the Bucovina, who have escaped from the yoke of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and are united with their mother-country, Roumania.

VI. The National Assembly salutes with love and enthusiasm the liberation of the nations which have up to the present supported the yoke of the Austro-Hungarian Mon-

archy—the Czecho-Slovak, Austro-German, Jugo-Slav, Polish and Ruthenian Nations. . . .

IX. For the further direction of the affairs of the Roumanian Nation of Transylvania, the Banat and Hungary, the National Assembly decides upon the institution of a Great National Roumanian Council, which shall have all authority to represent the Roumanian Nation in all circumstances and everywhere, before all the nations of the world, and to take all the steps it shall judge necessary in the interests of the Nation."

On December 11, 1918, King Ferdinand of Roumania issued the following decree:

" Art. I. Provisionally and until the final organization of completed Roumania, we charge with the direction of the public services in the territories designated in the decree-law no. 3631, the Directing Council appointed by the National Assembly of Alba-Julia, of the 18th November (1st December) 1918.

II. The Royal Government shall however administer foreign affairs, the army, the railroads, posts, telegraphs, telephones, fiduciary circulation, the customs, public debt and public security of the State.

III. The territories united to the kingdom of Roumania by the decision of the National Assembly of Alba-Julia of the 18th Nov. 1918, shall be represented in the government by Ministers without portfolio.

IV. For operations affecting these territories there shall be nominated by royal decree in the ministerial departments, on the proposal of the Ministers without portfolio, special counselors.

V. The Directing Council has as its first mission to present to us, within the shortest possible time, for the territories over which its administration extends, the bill for

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electoral reform on the basis of universal suffrage, and the bill for agrarian reform.

VI. Our President of the Council of Ministers is charged with the execution of the present decree-law.

Done at Bucharest, Dec. 11, '18.

FERDINAND.

The President of the Council of Ministers,
JOHN J. C. BRATIANO."

This was followed in January by a unanimous vote of the Germans (Saxons) of Transylvania in favour of union with Roumania. Meeting at Hermannstadt (Sibiu) on January 8, they resolved as follows:

"World events have created for the territory in which the Saxon people of Transylvania have established their homes these nearly 800 years, an unprecedented situation. King Ferdinand of Roumania, in his decree of Dec. 27, 1918, has proclaimed and established Roumanian dominion over this territory. The people which is the most numerous in Transylvania and the adjoining parts of Hungary has decreed, in the National Assembly of Alba-Julia, its union with Roumania. By this union of Transylvania and the parts of Hungary inhabited by Roumanians, with Roumania, will be created a common territorial unit, founded on an ethnographic basis. In the presence of these facts, and with the conviction that it is a world event, the Saxon people of Transylvania, resting on the right of peoples to dispose freely of themselves, proclaim their union with the kingdom of Roumania, and transmit to the Roumanian people their fraternal salutation and their cordial wishes for the complete realization of their national ideal.

In this, the Saxon people of Transylvania take account not merely of historical evolution, but also of the fundamental rights of the Roumanian people to unite and form

one state, and declare that they expect confidently that the Roumanian people and the Roumanian State, at whose disposal the Saxon people put their hereditary virtues, will be animated towards them by the highest sentiments of justice. The Saxon people, who for centuries enjoyed an autonomous constitutional administration of which they were deprived illegally and in contradiction with solemn and legal affirmations, expect furthermore that never in the future will they be hindered from asserting and developing the consciousness of their political and national unity, and that the new State will offer and grant them voluntarily in the future everything that they consider indispensable for their existence." After quoting the bill of rights enunciated in the Resolutions of Alba-Julia, they conclude: "Fully cognizant of the importance of their resolve, the Saxon people consider themselves henceforward as a part of the Roumanian State; they consider their sons and daughters as citizens of this State. They pray God to guide fruitfully and to bless this step full of responsibilities which they have felt themselves obliged to take.

At Mediasch, Jan. 8, 1919.

The National Saxon Assembly,
The National German-Saxon Council for Transylvania,
DR. SCHULLERUS, Pres.
DR. HANS OTTO ROTH, Secr."

Transylvania had been ably represented at the Peace Conference by Dr. Vaida Voevod, one of her leading politicians, who had had to suffer several times at the hands of the Hungarian masters of the province. After Bratiano, and later Mishu, returned to Bucharest, he represented Roumania also, and held out manfully against the whole force of the Entente endeavouring to make him sign the Treaty. I was present at an interesting conversation in Paris

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in October, 1919, in which Vaida, replying to the advice of an American diplomat that he sign the Treaty at once, spoke eloquently and forcefully; he said the Hungarians had put him in prison for his defence of Roumanian rights, and he would cut off his hand before he signed the Treaty in its present shape. In answer to a question why Transylvania did not bulk larger in the government of the new Roumania, he said they did not wish to be mixed up in Roumanian politics till they understood them clearly, and knew definitely what was represented by the Liberal Party and the three sets of Conservatives, grouped around leading personalities. Bratiano wanted the Transylvanians to come into his cabinet, he said; but they thought it wisest not to become identified with the party in power, or be under obligations to it, so decided to rest content for the present with their legal autonomy, giving the Roumanians a free hand in the army, etc. They did not wish to make what he considered the grave mistake of the Jugo-Slavs, who centralized everything at once at Belgrade.

In November, 1919, I saw Dr. Vaida again at Bucharest, with Dr. Julius Maniu, perhaps the most distinguished of the Roumanians of Transylvania. Dr. Vaida became the Speaker of the Parliament, and later, Premier. Meanwhile in Transylvania the Roumanians had unearthed two Hungarian plots aiming at an armed rebellion. They were engineered in each case by former officers and officials of the Austro-Hungarians, and were helped unfortunately by high church officials; I am informed that the highest Hungarian church dignitary was involved. One can imagine what would have happened to him,

on mere suspicion, at the hands of the French in Alsace, or the Poles in Posen; the Roumanians merely let him know that they were apprised of his participation, and left him untouched in his church jurisdiction! That was their general procedure; they found six different systems of law in their new dominions, and made no effort at the start to replace them. Would we had been as reasonable in Porto Rico, where we tried to introduce American law overnight!

These plots were not confined to Transylvania. During the French occupation of the Banat, the Hungarians there worked up a scheme to declare a republic, which should later be joined to Hungary, and thus keep the mineral and agricultural wealth of the province under Hungarian control. There were explicit rumours connecting Béla Kun, who was prominent in this scheme, and certain Allied financiers. It is even alleged that the severing of the Serb section of the Banat from the Roumanian part, was not so much due to solicitude for the self-determination of peoples as to the greater complaisance of the Serbs to outside concession-seekers—an explanation given also for the Fiume episode.

We have now traced in broad outline the development of the Principalities and of the Roumanian Irredenta, up to the period of the World War. For completeness' sake, we have sketched the process by which the various segments of the Irredenta became fused with Roumania later. Now we shall return to 1914, and try to give the essentials only of the part Roumania played in the war.

CHAPTER XIV

ROUMANIA IN THE WORLD WAR

SOME of the most interesting testimony to the preliminaries of the war comes from Roumania. Nicholas Flondor, at that time Secretary of State of the Bucovina under the Austrians, and in 1919 a representative of that province at Bucharest, noted that on March 17, 1914, the officers and men of the Austrian Landsturm received written orders from the military authorities which told them to which branch of the service they would be assigned in the event of a general mobilization, and where they should report. Flondor was greatly impressed, since nothing of the kind had taken place even after the capture of Scutari by the Montenegrins. In May, 1914, he went down to Vienna to negotiate a loan of eight million crowns for the Bucovina administration, and interviewed Baron Popper, president of the Wiener Bankverein. He refused to accede to the request, and when pressed by Flondor for a reason, confessed that he was providing Bulgaria with 20 million crowns for military expenditures. "You know," Baron Popper continued, "we are on the eve of a world war. That is why we must enable Bulgaria to enter the war as our ally, to counterbalance the power of Roumania, a neighbour we cannot rely on in the case of a general conflict."

On June 26, 1914, the day of the funeral of the

Archduke Francis Ferdinand, Flondor happened to be again in Vienna, and ran across Brig. Gen. Karl von Perztyansky, military commander of Budapest. Flondor was on his way to Holland, and thought it would be well to get information from his military friend about the general situation. The latter said to him: "The war against Serbia cannot be avoided; in fact it has been prepared for months" (as indeed we know from Italian sources) "and worked out to the smallest detail. It will be just a military walk-over. The assassination of the Archduke provides us the pretext we needed for declaring war. But if the Archduke had not been murdered, we should have found another pretext, as e. g., the question of the Oriental railroads. Our aim is to put an end to the Pan-Slav agitation, which is threatening the very existence of Austria."

Flondor at once objected that neither Russia, France nor England was likely to stand idly by and watch the annihilation of Serbia. Von Perztyansky replied: "If Russia should make war to help Serbia, from the very opening of hostilities she would find herself threatened with a revolution in the Ukraine. The ground has been carefully prepared there by our military agents, who would instantly block any action from that quarter. As for France, the French Socialists would never let their country go to war for a Balkan question. England has only a small army, and on that account is not in the least to be feared. Her navy would find the German navy ready to oppose it everywhere. In case of a European conflict, the chances are, as you see, that Germany and Austria would win the war. We should then take Sa-

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loniki, which we need for our Eastern trade, and Germany would appropriate Antwerp, thereby gaining control of the North Sea." This, by the way, was the Gen. von Perztyansky who was retired because of the acts of cruelty perpetrated by his orders in Serbia, but was recalled in 1917 and given command of the army which defended the sector of Kaludz.

It is well to recall the callous spirit in which Austro-Magyar imperialism brought the war upon the world. We are apt to forget that their responsibility is as great as Germany's. This interview proves that they did not reckon on Roumanian co-operation, in spite of the Roumanian adhesion to the Triple Alliance, her economic dependence on Germany and Austria, and her German King. Their scepticism was quite justified. A Crown Council, presided over by King Charles, decided on a policy of neutrality, and notified Vienna (as did Italy) that there was no obligation of aid under the Treaty, since Austria's action was aggressive, not defensive. It was understood that King Charles' sympathies were largely with his native land; he was an old man in delicate health, and the shock of the war was too much for him; he died in October, 1914. As Carmen Sylva and he had no living children, he was at once succeeded by his nephew, Ferdinand, who had now lived for many years in Roumania. King Ferdinand deserves the greatest praise for his whole-souled devotion to the interests of Roumania. A German born and bred, educated at the Düsseldorf Gymnasium and the University of Leipsic, speaking both English and Roumanian with a trace of German

accent, he nevertheless turned a deaf ear to the appeals of his German kinsmen; and it was well understood during the war that if the Germans succeeded in capturing Ferdinand, a condign example would be made of him, as of a traitor to Germany. The King has been immeasurably aided by the extraordinary ability and attractiveness of Queen Marie; I have never seen more genuine enthusiasm than the wild cheering that followed the mention of her name at the opening of the first Parliament of Greater Roumania; and when the grey-bearded historian Professor Iorga proposed a cheer for Queen Marie, "Mama rănitilor" (Mother of the wounded), the whole assembly leaped to its feet in a demonstration of profound admiration and devotion for the stately woman who stood blushing bowing her acknowledgments beside the King. It is impossible to overestimate the value to Roumania throughout the war and the present trying period of reconstruction, of her good fortune in having a sensible, hard-working man as King and a sympathetic self-sacrificing woman as Queen. The King's services to his country and the Entente stand out in all the higher relief when one observes the course of other German royalties in southeastern Europe.

The first few months of the war were accompanied by great confusion in Roumanian politics. Some of the most distinguished of the older generation of Roumanian statesmen, like Peter Carp and Alexander Marghiloman, had always been anti-Russian or sympathetic toward Germany, and felt that German capital and enterprise had been of the greatest benefit to Roumania. Take Jonesco, Roumania's



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most brilliant lawyer, had had close affiliations with German interests. Fear of the Russian colossus and resentment for the seizure of Bessarabia neutralized much of the enthusiasm for France and the sympathy with Belgium. Nevertheless Roumanian public sentiment was distinctly behind Bratiano, whose policy looked toward participation in the war on the side of the Allies, if Roumania could be assured of the help she needed in money and munitions; she had no arsenal, and her army chiefs were aghast at the new requirements of warfare, disclosed as the struggle progressed. The Germans and Austrians maintained an expensive propaganda, buying newspapers and corrupting various of the lesser fry of politicians; and toward the end, when they saw Roumania was probably coming in against them, they made desperate overtures in return for continued neutrality. Marghiloman told me that he was promised by the Germans, if Roumania would only stay neutral, the whole of Bessarabia; the southern Bucovina, including Suceava but not Czernowitz; and immediate autonomy, with their own Diet, for the Roumanians of Hungary—a concession the Germans had extorted from the Hungarians. From the coldly calculating point of view, this would seem now to have been the better bargain, since the Germans would doubtless have been beaten eventually without Roumania's assistance, the Transylvanian Diet would have voted annexation just as did the similar Assembly of Alba-Julia, and Roumania would have been spared the Calvary she had to undergo; while the example of Greece shows how unbounded treachery to the Allied cause nevertheless won extensive re-

wards from the Solons at the Paris Conference. But sympathy with Serbia and France and later the highly influential example of Italy (with which country Roumanian affiliations have always been very close), combined with distrust of Germany and Austria, and bitter dislike of Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, turned the scales. The Entente had had no reason to complain of Roumania's neutrality; she had cut down her exports of grain to the minimum required to pay for the arms and munitions she was buying from her only available source. She facilitated transport of material for Serbia, and refused to transmit that for Turkey. These and other manifestations of friendly neutrality had been acknowledged by Russia in an agreement of October 1, 1914, by which Russia promised to support Roumania's claims to the Roumanian parts of Austro-Hungary. In the spring of 1915 the Entente asked Roumania to enter the war; the Roumanian Government pointed out that it would be necessary first to specify distinctly the territorial boundaries which would be given Greater Roumania in consequence of victory; that Roumania must be assured of sufficient arms and munitions immediately; and that military or diplomatic measures must be taken to protect Roumania from a flank attack by Bulgaria. These considerations, which must appear elementary to any one who has studied the history of Roumania's relations with the Great Powers, particularly Russia, and which appear furthermore almost prescient of the Paris Conference, gave certain of the Allies pause, and diplomatic effort was concentrated rather on Bulgaria and Greece, with lamentable results.

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We have a dramatic account of the decisive Crown Council, published in "La Roumanie" (Take Jonesco's organ) of March 6, 1921, based on notes made at the time by "one of the participants." King Ferdinand sat at the centre of the table, with Premier J. J. C. Bratiano opposite him, to his right Crown Prince Charles, and to his left ex-Premier Theodore Rosetti, ex-Premier Titus Maioresco and Premier-to-be Alexander Marghiloman. Ex-Premier Peter Carp, the veteran Conservative and Germanophile, sat next the Prince; to Bratiano's right were his Ministers; to his left Speaker Ferechide, Senate Vice-President Robesco, the party chiefs Take Jonesco and Nicholas Filipesco, ex-Speakers Cantacuzene-Pashcano and Olanesco. The King was under the stress of deep emotion; having fully made up his mind that Roumania should intervene on the side of the Allies, he had argued with Maioresco the night before, but to no avail. The Italian Minister had also pleaded with Maioresco, telling him that being a Transylvanian he might hope to be Minister in the first Government of Greater Roumania. But Maioresco, impressed with Germany's strength, still held out for neutrality.

King Ferdinand opened the session by saying that he had summoned the country's leaders, not to ask their advice, for he had come to a decision, but to request their support. Neutrality was no longer possible; Roumania must side with the Entente against the Central Powers. Being a Hohenzollern, he had suffered greatly in coming to this view, and had had to conquer himself; his victory was to him the proof that he had chosen the right path for his

country. He begged their united support of him, a good Roumanian. Still, he would ask all who held contrary views to state them, and called first on Carp. Carp, however, said he saw no reason to call this council, since its decision was already made, and refused to speak; whereupon the King called on Bratiano. The Liberal Premier felt that Roumania could no longer stay neutral without moral bankruptcy; moreover, since Roumania had an ideal, national unity, she should take advantage of the occasion to realize it. Roumania had recovered her liberty of action, as regards the Triple Alliance, just as Italy had; he had already pledged her assistance to the Entente, and taken military steps to relieve the Roumanians across the Carpathians. Carp again refused to speak; Take Jonesco congratulated the Sovereign, and promised his party's support. Marghiloman was apprehensive, in view of the Germans' strength, and the blow he had learned they were preparing against the Russians. He felt that the country was not in favour of war, and that the Roumanians in Hungary were not anxious to come into the Kingdom. The definite result of Roumanian success with the Allies would be the installation of Russia at the Dardanelles, with the consequent choking of Roumania. "But," interrupted the King, "admitting that the Russians take Constantinople, which will be preferable for us, to be their friends or enemies?" Filipesco also recalled that the understanding with Russia of October 1, 1914, had been approved by Marghiloman, and he pledged the unanimous support of his party. And now Carp broke his silence. This war can only result, he said,

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in German or Russian supremacy. The latter would be fatal to Roumania, for she would bar Russia's way to Constantinople, and fatal to the dynasty, for Russia would install some local family friendly to her. Carp was so convinced that Roumania's interests demanded entry into the war on Germany's side that in contrary case he would pray for her defeat, as the only means of her salvation, even though his three sons were in the army. Both the King and Bratiano protested, but Carp said he had come to that decision only after long reflection, and abode by it.

At a question from Maioresco, Bratiano stated that he was already bound to the Allies, and that in his judgment the country also was morally bound. He had postponed entry into the war as long as possible, but he had just learned that the Allies were about to treat with Hungary. Maioresco said he felt the issue was still too doubtful for Roumania to take sides; furthermore, his information was that the Roumanians of Hungary wanted to remain under the Hapsburgs, and have German protection against the Magyars. Both Bratiano and Take Jonesco protested against this, Bratiano adding that he had letters from Vaida and other Transylvanians diametrically opposed to Maioresco's understanding. Nevertheless, said Maioresco, what Roumania should have done was to negotiate with the Hungarians to better the lot of the Transylvanian Roumanians. Here the King protested again, saying that both before and after the declaration of war he had begged both Germany and Czernin to make the Magyars give the Transylvanians at least as much freedom as the

Czechs of Bohemia enjoyed, and that before the war Emperor William had gone to Vienna on this very errand, but without success. The King added that he was convinced that neither Germany nor any other power could gain this from the Hungarians; he had made many efforts, but in vain. Maioresco, however, still objected, finally asking to have elections held on the subject of war or neutrality—the only suggestion that brought a general smile. To a statement of Costinesco, one of Bratiano's ministers, that whether Russia or Germany held the Straits, it was a misfortune for Roumania, the King remarked that he was not afraid of Russia, but if he were, he would much prefer a Greater Roumania to undertake the anti-Russian defence. Take Jonesco brought out an interesting bit of history, that in 1911 Vaida and the other leading Transylvanians proposed to Roumanian leaders that national unity should be achieved by all entering the Hapsburg Empire, as the only possible method of realizing the national ideal; but that since 1914 their views had changed, and that they were now convinced all should act together against the Central Empires.

In a moving peroration, Bratiano said that like his father, he was a Roumanian only, not a Russo-phile or a Germanophile. Those who opposed war, overlooked the moral question involved. He did not feel certain of victory, but even though conquered, they might rest assured of national unity; Italy was defeated at Novara, but union arrived soon afterward. Michael the Brave was the national hero, because he had crossed into Transylvania; it would be the same with King Ferdinand. The Hohenzollern

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dynasty was no longer foreign in any case, but after the King had passed the Carpathians, the question would never be raised again. This the King confirmed; and in closing the session, he pleaded for their united support, since the responsibility would fall on them all.

All difficulties were now overcome; and on August 16, 1916, the Allies and Roumania signed the secret Treaty of Bucharest. This is a document of such importance that I reproduce it here in full:

Art. I. France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia guarantee the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Roumania in the total extent of its present boundaries.

II. Roumania binds herself to declare war and to attack Austria-Hungary in accordance with the conditions stipulated by the Military Agreement; Roumania promises also to discontinue all economic relations and commercial exchanges with the enemies of the Allies, as soon as she declares war.

III. France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia acknowledge Roumania's right to annex the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy stipulated and set by Article IV.

IV. The limits of the territories mentioned in the preceding article are set as follows:

The line of delimitation will start on the Pruth at a point of the present frontier between Roumania and Russia near Novosulitza and will ascend this river as far as the frontier of Galicia at the confluence of the Pruth and the Ceremos. After that it will follow the frontier of Galicia and Bucovina, and that of Galicia and Hungary, up to the point Steag (hill 1655). From that point it will follow the line of separation of the waters of the Theiss and the Viso until it reaches the Theiss at the village of Trebuza up-stream from the spot where it unites with the Viso. Starting from that

point it will go down along the thalweg of the Theiss to a distance of 4 kilometres down-stream from its confluence with the Szamos, leaving the village of Vasares-Nemény to Roumania. It will then continue in a SSW direction to a point 6 km. east of the town of Debreczin. From that point it will reach the Crish (Körös) 3 km. down-stream from the union of its two affluents (the White Crish and the Swift Crish). It will then join the Theiss on a line with the village of Algyö, north of Szegedin, passing to the west of the villages of Croshaza and Bekessamson; 3 km. from the latter it will make a slight curve. From Algyö the line will descend the thalweg of the Theiss down to its confluence with the Danube, and will finally follow the thalweg of the Danube down to the present frontier of Roumania.

Roumania binds herself not to erect fortifications opposite Belgrade in a zone to be later delimited, and to keep in that zone only the forces necessary for police service.

The Royal Roumanian Government binds itself to indemnify the Serbs of the region of the Banat who might want to abandon their properties and emigrate within a space of two years from the conclusion of peace.

V. Roumania on the one hand, and France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia on the other promise not to conclude a separate peace or general peace except conjointly and simultaneously. France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia bind themselves as well that at the Peace Treaty the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy stipulated in Art. IV shall be annexed to the Crown of Roumania.

VI. Roumania shall enjoy the same rights as the Allies in all that concerns the preliminaries of the peace negotiations, as well as the discussion of the questions which will be submitted to the decisions of the Peace Conference.

VII. The contracting Powers bind themselves to keep the present convention secret until the conclusion of the general peace.

Article II of this secret Treaty of Bucharest speaks of a

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Military Convention entered into at the same time. To understand the extent to which Roumania was misled by the representatives of the Allies, it is essential to study this document also:

Art. I. Following the Treaty of Alliance concluded on the 4/17 August, 1916, between France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Roumania, Roumania binds herself by mobilizing all her forces on land and sea, to attack Austria-Hungary at the latest on Aug. 15/28, 1916 (eight days after the offensive of Saloniki). The offensive operations of the Roumanian Army will begin on the day of the declaration of war.

II. As soon as the present agreement is signed, and during the mobilization and concentration of the Roumanian Army, the Russian Army undertakes to act in a specially energetic way along the whole Austrian front so as to ensure the above-mentioned Roumanian operations. This action will be especially offensive and energetic in the Bucovina, where the Russian troops will have at any rate to maintain their present positions and effectives.

Beginning with the 12/25 August, 1916, the Russian fleet will have to ensure the security of the port of Constantza, prevent the disembarkation of enemy troops on the Roumanian coast, and any incursion on the Danube up-stream from the mouths of this stream.

On her part Roumania will acknowledge the right of the Russian Black Sea Fleet to utilize the port of Constantza and take the necessary measures against the enemies' submarine fleet.

The Russian warships which will use the Danube for protecting the banks as well as for giving aid to the Roumanian Army and Fleet, will be under the command of the Commander-in-Chief of the Roumanian Armies, and will co-operate on that stream with the squadron of Russian monitors. The details of this coöperation will be settled according to the articles of the present Agreement.

III. Russia binds herself at the moment of the mobilization of the Roumanian Army, to send into the Dobrudja two infantry divisions and one cavalry division to coöperate with the Roumanian Army against the Bulgarian Army.

The Allies bind themselves to precede by at least a week the entry of Roumania into the war by a determined offensive of the Armies at Saloniki, in order to facilitate the mobilization and concentration of all the Roumanian military forces. This offensive will begin on the 7/20 August, 1916.

If, during the military operations, the Allied Powers, after an agreement between the respective General Staffs, should be induced to increase their military forces coöperating with the Roumanian Army, this increase of forces will not modify in anything the stipulations of the concluded agreements.

IV. France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia undertake to furnish to Roumania munitions and war material which will be transported by Roumanian or Allied vessels and transited through Russia.

These deliveries and transports are to be executed so as to assure the arrival in Roumania as continuously as possible of a minimum of 300 tons per diem, calculated at one month of transport.

Should the Allies have at their disposal new ways of access facilitating the transit of ammunition, Roumania may have the benefit of them.

V. The Allies undertake the engagement as well of furnishing to Roumania, within the limits of possibility, the horses, tires, medicaments, articles of subsistence and equipment which she may ask for in the quantities and categories which shall be fixed by mutual agreement.

VI. The Allies will put at Roumania's disposal the technical personnel necessary for the manufacture in that country of ammunition and war material.

VII. As soon as the present agreement is concluded, the

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General Staffs of the Russo-Roumanian Armies, as well as the General Staffs of the Armies of Saloniki, will come to an agreement for determining the exact form of their coöperation.

The accord during military operations of the Russo-Roumanian Armies or any change, elucidation and supplement with a view to establishing a permanent liaison, will be settled at respective Headquarters, as stated lower down.

VIII. The coöperation of the Allied Armies does not imply the subordination of one of the contracting parties to the other, it implies only the free acceptance of the dispositions or modifications due to the general situation, to the necessities of the object aimed at, and to brotherhood in arms.

IX. Generally speaking, the Royal Roumanian troops and the Imperial Russian troops retain their own Command, their distinct zone of operations and complete independence in the conduct of operations. The line of demarcation between the two armies will run from Dorna Vatra through the Bistritza and Chaio and Samesh valleys to Debreczin. The principal objective of the Roumanian action, as far as the military situation south of the Danube will permit, will be through Transylvania in the direction of Buda-Pesth.

The Russian troops provided by Art. III, intended to co-operate with the Roumanian Army, will be under the Supreme Command of the Roumanian Army.

In case the Russian contingent operating south of the Danube should be considerably increased, so as to be of equal or superior strength to the Roumanian troops with which it will coöperate, this contingent may form upon exit from Roumanian territory an independent army which will be placed under the Supreme Russian Command.

In this event, that Army when operating outside Roumanian territory must have a distinct zone of operations, and will be conducted under the orders of the Russian Supreme Command, though it must act in entire accordance

with the plans of the two Headquarters, on the bases established above.

If, in view of the object aimed at, military operations with combined Russo-Roumanian forces should take place, the command of this force would be indicated by the respective zone of operations. All orders and instructions regarding the direction of these operations will be drawn up in Roumanian and in Russian.

X. In principle, the armies of the one contracting party may not enter the national territory or occupied territory of the other, except if the general interest and the common object should demand it, and only with a written preliminary agreement in each particular instance.

XI. On each occasion when during the operations the Allied Armies may be obliged to use a railway or railways on the territory of the Allied State for transporting troops, provisions and military requirements, their use will be determined in each particular case by the Delegates of General Allied Headquarters. The administration and organization of transports and revictualling from local resources will fall in each instance to the territorial authorities.

XII. The prisoners, war booty and trophies taken by one Army will belong to it.

The war booty taken in common engagements and on the same battlefield shall be divided proportionately to the participating effectives. Nevertheless, in order to facilitate the provisioning of the Roumanian Army, the Imperial Russian Command will deliver up the war material and ammunition included in this common booty, of which the Roumanian Army may have urgent need.

XIII. In order to coördinate the activities of the Roumanian, Russian and Allied Armies, and to carry out with greater assurance their military aims, a representative of the Roumanian Army, assisted if necessary by a certain number of aides, shall be present at Russian and Allied Headquarters at the moment of the opening of Roumanian military operations.

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In like manner representatives of the Russian and Allied Armies and their aides shall be at General Headquarters of the Roumanian Army.

The Headquarters of the coöperating armies shall inform each other at the proper time with regard to military conjectures, division of forces and the course of operations.

XIV. If during operations, situations should arise demanding new measures and raising questions not foreseen in the present agreement, these questions will be discussed at each headquarters with the delegate of the Allied Army, but no final action will be taken except with the agreement of the Supreme Commands.

XV. In order to take preparatory measures in time at the beginning of operations, the contracting parties shall come to an understanding with regard to the plan of military action, before the day on which the Roumanian Army opens hostilities.

XVI. The question of armistices shall be decided by common agreement of the Supreme Commands of the coöperating Armies.

XVII. The present Agreement shall remain in force from the day of signing up to the general peace.

Made in five copies at Bucharest
Aug. 4/17, 1916.

The Roumanians entered the war therefore with definite assurances of military aid on the part of the Allies; they were under obligation to strike westward through Transylvania towards Buda-Pesth, while the Russians should divert Austrian attention by operations in the Bucovina, and Sarraill's offensive from Saloniki should be already a week under way. They were also to receive at least 300 tons daily of war material through Russia.

The mobilization took place rapidly and efficiently,

and over 850,000 men were gathered together, of whom 200,000 formed a reserve. Of this material were formed 366 battalions of infantry, 106 squadrons of cavalry, and 327 batteries of artillery. There were also four armoured monitors, one protected cruiser and several gun-boats and patrol-boats. The land forces made up 23 divisions, with two cavalry divisions. They had only 440,000 rifles for these 850,000 men, and of this total only 330,000 were Männlicher rifles (6.5 mm.); the rest were old Martini Henris, and Bulgarian rifles taken in 1913. There were only 1400 field guns, mostly antiquated, and only 500 machine guns! The Roumanians lacked heavy artillery almost entirely; were without modern aëroplanes and anti-aircraft guns; had no mountain artillery, no grenades, gas-masks, gas shells, helmets, etc., and were very short of automobiles, telephones and other technical material, and modern outfits for officers and soldiers. The Allies were exactly informed of these deficiencies, and also knew how unlikely it was that the missing material could be rushed through Russia in time. The conviction is general in Roumania that they were encouraged to come in, quite coldbloodedly; that all competent persons in Paris knew that they would be sacrificed, but that the Germans would have to let up the murderous pressure on the western front and send some divisions down to Roumania—which did come about. It must also have been known in Paris by the military authorities, if not by the diplomats, that Sarraïl would not be able to issue forth from Saloniki, and that the Russians had already become an uncertain quantity.

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Of all these engagements entered into by the Treaty and Military Agreement of August, 1916, none was fulfilled but the Roumanian. They outfitted these divisions as best they could, and divided them up into four armies. The First, of six divisions (140,000 men) occupied Oltenia and the mountain frontier up to the sources of the Arges. The Second, which was the best, had four divisions, with 120,000 men; they guarded the Wallachian mountain frontier from the Arges to the Putna Valley. The Northern (or Fourth) Army held the mountains of Moldavia, with three infantry and one cavalry division, totalling over 110,000 men. The Third Army, of six infantry and one cavalry division, with more than 140,000 men, covered the northern bank of the Danube from the Iron Gates to Tutucaia, and then the boundary of the Dobrudja up to Balchic. The strategic reserve, of two divisions with 50,000 men, protected Bucharest on the north and the south.

Mobilization commenced on August 14, the eve of the declaration of war, and was practically completed in five days. It called out immediately 13% of the total population—a higher proportion than had been reached so quickly anywhere in the West. King Ferdinand's proclamation eloquently expressed the thought which passed through every patriotic Roumanian's mind as he went to his nearest barracks: "After endless periods of misfortune and of painful efforts, our fathers succeeded in founding the Roumanian State on the Union of the Principalities, on the War of Independence, on their tireless labour for the rebirth of the nation. To-day it is given to us

to complete their work, building for all time what Michael the Brave fashioned for but a moment—the Union of the Roumanians on both sides the Carpathians. It depends upon us to-day to deliver from foreign oppression our brethren beyond the mountains and in the highlands of the Bucovina, where Stephen the Great sleeps his eternal sleep. In us, in our virtues, in our bravery rests the power of restoring them their rights, so that, in a Roumania that shall be complete and free, from the Theiss to the Sea, they may progress in the peace that is due the destinies and the aspirations of our race. . . . On with God, the Lord! ”

Alas, with all this enthusiasm and energy, the failure of the Allies to act paralyzed all Roumanian initiative. The Russians in the Bucovina gave no signs of life; Gen. Sarrail continued his automobile drives down the boulevards of Saloniki. Marshal Joffre had telegraphed him August 17 to begin the offensive on August 20, as planned; and full light has not yet been thrown on the reasons for his hesitation. As late as November 2, Joffre sent the Roumanian General Rudeano the following note: “ The considerations which you have outlined have not escaped the attention of the French High Command, which has already taken the measures required by the situation. On the invitation of the French Government and High Command, it was decided by the Conference of Boulogne on October 20 to raise the French and British contingents at Saloniki to seven divisions each (the Russian division being included in the French contingent). These reinforcement measures are already in process of execution.

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On the other hand the French High Command is continuing its requests to Gen. Cadorna with a view of obtaining the dispatch to the East of the Italian contingents necessary to bring the Italian Army of Saloniki up to three divisions. The Eastern Allied Armies, thus reinforced, will be in a position not only to hold the enemy forces before them, as now, but to oblige the German-Bulgarians to devote new forces to the defence of occupied Macedonia and to inflict on the Bulgarian army serious tactical checks which will use up its effectives and its formations and ruin its morale. The Russian High Command, for its part, is sending to Roumania considerable forces, which will, from the moment of their entry into action, bring about a reversal in our favour of the situation in Transylvania and in the Dobrudja. The crisis which Roumania is passing through and which she has almost succeeded in surmounting, seems likely to be nearing its end." But alas, Joffre's masterly plan of utilizing Roumania as an essential factor in the blow to be dealt the Germans that summer, broke down under Russian and Greek lukewarmness. Yet as Ludendorff confesses in his Memoirs, "In spite of our victory over the Roumanian army, we had become on the whole still weaker."

The Roumanian General Staff did not know what to make of the lack of co-operation; but they knew they had obligated themselves to strike westward, and at the very moment that the declaration of war was presented at Vienna, the troops covering the frontier dashed across into Transylvania, striking confusion into the Hungarians. Within a few days they were in possession of the Cerna val-

ley, the coal mines of Petroshani, the plains south of Sibiu (with their centre at the village of Shelimberg where Michael the Brave had defeated the Hungarians in 1599), Brashov (Kronstadt) and the upper Olt valley. But on the 17th of August, three days after the decree of mobilization, the consequences of Sarraill's inaction became painfully evident south of the Danube; the Bulgarians struck at Turtucaia. Under Field-marshal Mackensen's leadership, a force of over 120,000 troops, admirably equipped, had gathered along the frontier from Rustchuk to Varna, with a strong concentration between Rustchuk and Rasgrad. They found opposite them one good Roumanian division, the 9th, and two inferior divisions, the 17th and 19th, which had some militia battalions, and old 75's and 87's. Mackensen had the 217th German Division, the 1st, 4th, 6th and 12th Bulgarian (and a Bulgarian division had 24 battalions, about double the number in these Roumanian divisions), one Bulgarian cavalry division and one German-Bulgar. He had abundance of armoured automobiles, aëroplanes, dirigibles, and captive balloons; the Roumanians had practically none. With 80,000 men he attacked Turtucaia; and after 6 days of desperate fighting, on the afternoon of August 24, the Roumanians began a retreat toward Silistra. But Mackensen had struck also further east in the Dobrudja, at Bazargic; and on the 24th the Roumanians here (19th) had to give up, and effect a junction with the remnants of the 9th division, retreating towards Caracomer.

This disaster south of the Danube at once endan-





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gered the whole Roumanian southern flank; and the victorious advance into Transylvania had to be arrested. The 2nd, 5th, 12th and 15th Divisions were detached and sent back through the mountains to join the 9th and 19th—the 17th had been captured or cut to pieces by Mackensen—in a defence of the Dobrudja line; at least three Russian divisions arrived to help them, with one of Russian cavalry, and one of Czechs and Jugo-Slavs, former Austrian soldiers, captured by the Russians and formed into a Russian division. These combined Russo-Roumanian forces were formed into the Army of the Dobrudja, under a Russian generalissimo, but under the orders of the Third Army commander, who now had charge from the Olt to the Black Sea. The First, Second and Fourth Armies were much weakened by the loss of these divisions, but maintained their name and organization intact.

The situation was now serious enough, but not critical as yet. But by the first of September German troops began appearing in Transylvania, drawn from both the Western and the Russian fronts, and from the reserve formed to expel the Russians from the Bucovina. Falkenhayn was put in command of these excellent and well-outfitted troops. There were now massed against the Russo-Roumanians 10 German divisions, 7 Austro-Hungarian, 4 Bulgarian, 2 Turkish, with 5 cavalry divisions (2 of them German). Toward the end of November the number had risen to a total of 37 divisions, of which 21 were German (5 of them cavalry). By January 1, 1917, Roumania was confronted by 58 enemy divisions!

The new Roumanian Dobrudja army amounted to

nearly 100,000 men, of heterogeneous elements—there was even one division of mounted Cossacks, of highly debatable value, according to the Roumanians—with only 6 machine-guns to a regiment, and no heavier artillery than 5-inch guns. They had no aviation. Opposite them were 7 German-Bulgarian-Turkish divisions, with 2 of cavalry—some 130,000 men, with 12-inch guns, hundreds of machine-guns, plenty of aviators and two Zeppelins. These advanced steadily till finally held at bay along the Rashova-Tusla line, which covers the Cernavoda—Constantza railroad. Indeed, the Roumanians made in early September a powerful counter-attack which broke up the Bulgarian right wing, and yielded them several thousand prisoners and much equipment. This attack was also designed to distract attention from a bold manœuvre by which it was hoped to out-flank the enemy's forces in the Dobrudja. Five divisions were rapidly concentrated along the Danube between Turtucaia and Rustchuk, and on the evening of September 17 a bridge of boats was rapidly thrown across the river at Flamânda; by evening of the 19th the 10th Division was already across, and most of two other divisions. But again the lack of accessories was fatal; Austrian monitors coming down the river and finding neither torpedoes, mines nor heavy artillery, bombarded the bridge at will; German and Austrian aëroplanes dropped tons of projectiles on the troops waiting to cross, without having to guard against anything but rifle fire; and finally Austrian floating mines blew up the bridge simultaneously in five different places! The whole manœuvre had to be abandoned; the troops were

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hurriedly brought back to the north bank of the river, over the hastily repaired bridge, and were rushed back up into the mountains to the relief of the Second Army, which was already being driven down the Câmpulung and Prahova valleys.

In their advance into Transylvania and the Banat, the First Army had occupied Orshova and the whole Cerna valley; Petroshani; the heights above Hatzeg; and the plain of the Olt between the mountains and Sibiu. The Second Army had seized Făgăraș and was enveloping Segesvar with its right wing. The North Army had gone down the Mureș and Tarnava valleys, and had occupied the western outlets of the valleys which descend from the mountains north of the Olt. They had had no special difficulty in beating back the Austro-Hungarian troops, and had been enthusiastically received by the Roumanian population; but they had had to send back many regiments for the disastrous Dobrudja episode; and the Germans at once took advantage of this. Gen. von Arz, who was later commander on the Italian front, organized an Austrian army at Cluj (Kolozsvár), and Gen. Falkenhayn formed the Ninth German Army at a point east of Arad. At the end of August they fell upon the First Army, and for ten days the battle raged for the possession of the coal mines at Petroshani, which finally passed into the enemy's hands on September 7. The Roumanians however still held the mountain ridges which commanded Petroshani. But they were outflanked by a daring German Alpine corps, which had started climbing at a point 20 miles west of Sibiu, and for four days had clambered among the highest ridges of

the Carpathians without running across even a Roumanian patrol, there being a gap here between the Olt and the Jiu forces. Thus they succeeded in reaching the Olt at Lunci, and actually occupied the Roumanian trenches, facing northward, which the Roumanians had dug to protect their march forward when they made their way into Transylvania. The Germans now commanded the only channel by which the Roumanian Olt corps could communicate with Roumania. At the same time the enemy's cavalry surrounded the Olt corps on the right, cutting their communications with the Second Army in Făgăraş; and the Germans opened a furious frontal attack upon them. By good strategy Gen. Praporgescu, who was coming with reinforcements, succeeded in cleaning out the trenches at Lunci; and in a desperate four days' battle, the Olt Corps finally made its way back into Oltenia, but with heavy losses.

Meanwhile the Second Army, which had actually been holding practice manœuvres at Făgăraş, since the enemy had practically vanished in those quarters, received orders to come to the assistance of the Olt Corps, and attack vigorously whatever enemy forces they might meet. After many bloody skirmishes, they inflicted heavy losses on the enemy at Brashov, and by September 26 were holding the frontier, from Buzeu to Dâmbavicioara. The retreat of the Second Army endangered the flank of the North Army, which reached down to Făgăraş; they withdrew to the heights west of the Muresh and the Olt. Now if ever was the time for the Russians in the Bucovina to come to the Roumanians' assistance; and the Roumanian Supreme Command felt so reluctant to doubt

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Russian good faith that they ordered the North Army to halt on the heights east of the Olt and await the Russians. But the latter dribbled in so slowly that the Germans were emboldened to make an attack on the North Army along its entire front; and it was forced to retire within the Moldavian boundaries, holding open the Bistritza and Trotush passes.

The First, Second and North Armies had now been driven back out of Transylvania into Roumania proper. Meanwhile Mackensen kept up his pressure, with superior forces and equipment, in the Dobrudja; Constantza fell; and soon the last Roumanian troops had been expelled from the Dobrudja. Since the Dobrudja was prevailingly Turkish and Bulgarian when it fell to Roumania in 1878, and since the southernmost segment of it had been Bulgarian till 1913, the Dobrudja is part of the Bulgarian Irredenta. Rejoicing was widespread at Sofia, where were now to be found representatives of all the lands the Bulgarians considered theirs, from Ochrida to the mouth of the Danube; and Bulgarians from the Dobrudja again took their seats in the Sobranje, beside the Macedonians. Truly, of all the vicissitudes of the war, Bulgaria and Roumania experienced the most poignant. In 1917, the Greater Bulgaria of the Treaty of San Stefano was a reality, and Roumania had shrivelled to part of Moldavia. In 1919, Bulgaria had shrunk within narrower limits than those assigned her after the defeat of the Second Balkan War, and Roumania is now governing the wide territories only once before united, by Michael the Brave in 1600.

By the end of September, the Roumanian troops had been driven back to their Carpathian frontier. This is over 400 miles long, from Dorna to Vârciorova, and the Danube-Dobrudja line brought up the whole to 900 miles. The Roumanians now had only half a million troops defending their line, as compared with four and a half million on the western front of 400 miles, and one and a half million on the Italian front of 375 miles; the Russian front, from Dorna to Riga, was about the length of the Roumanian, but was defended by over four million front-line troops.

The enemy's first efforts to pierce the mountain line were directed against the Second Army—evidently because of the close proximity of five passes (the Bran, Strunga, Predeal, Bratocea and Buzeu) over any one of which they could soon reach Bucharest, as well as isolate the First from the North Army. They attacked therefore incessantly, but made only slight and unimportant advances. Similar attacks were made on the entire line of the North Army, all through October. But although the Germans had well-organized Alpine troops and batteries for mountain work—something the Roumanians did not evolve till later, when they formed their first Alpine battalions on French and Italian models—the Roumanians succeeded in holding them all along the Moldavian line. The constant hammering on the Second Army (now composed of only six exhausted divisions, the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 10th, 21st and 22nd) brought no definite results till the morning of November 17, when a general retreat of the left wing was ordered. This withdrawal was caused by the tre-

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mendous pressure on the First Army, further west; the Austro-Germans had concentrated on two mighty thrusts, one at Orshova on the Danube, the other near the sources of the Argesh. The First Army contained only five divisions, to guard a 300-mile front; these were the 1st, 11th, 13th, 20th and 23rd, of which only the 1st was of prime quality; the 11th and 13th were technically rated as of the second class, and the 20th and 23rd had been built up since mobilization with units taken from other divisions, and militia battalions. Gen. Praporgescu had succeeded in infusing new courage and energy into them, and they were holding a line along the frontier in the Olt valley and the upper course of the Argesh; but one relatively quiet day toward the end of September, a stray shell found him out, and his brilliant career was ended. Nevertheless the troops held out, and even obtained a number of successes against the enemy, of which the most remarkable was the Battle of the Jiu (October 13-16, 1916). In the upper Jiu valley, between Petroshani and the frontier, the enemy had massed over 30 battalions of picked troops and a division of cavalry, with formidable artillery, in order to crush the 20 Roumanian battalions in their way, and enter Oltenia by the Jiu. Anticipating the attack, the Roumanians appointed Gen. Dragalina, who had won renown by his command of the 1st Division in the Cerna valley, over the whole First Army. The enemy had begun their attack October 9, and pressed slowly southward till Gen. Dragalina's arrival, the evening of the 11th. Reinforcements began to come in from the Roumanian divisions on the Cerna, the Danube and the Olt—they

selves hard pressed by the enemy. With their help Gen. Dragalina worked out a plan of resistance; but on the 12th, in a venturesome reconnoissance, he was badly wounded by German machine-gunners, and died after a few days of suffering. He lived long enough, however, to get the first good news of the Roumanian counter-attack, which commenced the 14th, and drove the enemy in wildest confusion back over the frontier; the Roumanians even captured the cars of the German staff directing the Jiu operations. They annihilated the 11th Bavarian Division (called from its rapid movements the Flying Division), and by the 18th of October had in their hands 2000 prisoners, 42 guns and 55 machine-guns.

But the comparative quiet which prevailed for the moment on other fronts had allowed Falkenhayn to gather seven more German divisions (including two of cavalry). He concentrated immediately after the Roumanian counter-offensive a powerful army at Petroshani, composed of the 41st and 109th German Divisions, a remodelled 11th Bavarian Division, the 144th Austrian Alpine Brigade, and the 6th and 7th German Cavalry Divisions—in all, over 60,000 picked troops, with 250 cannon, among them some 8-inch guns and unnumbered machine-guns. This was named the Kuehne Army, from its commander; and Falkenhayn himself came to Petroshani to map out its campaign. Opposite the Kuehne Army the Roumanians had part of the First Army—26,000 much worn troops, with some 125 guns, none over 4-inch, and less than a hundred machine-guns. Kuehne attacked with these overwhelming forces on October 28; early in November he succeeded in bor-



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ing a way down the Jiu into Oltenia; and on November 4 his cavalry corps and armoured automobiles worked down into the plain and began devastating in every direction. The Cerna and Danube troops further west were in immediate danger of being cut off, and began a rapid retreat in order to rejoin the main body; but they were needed along the Danube to hinder Mackensen's advance, and were halted for that purpose; and after fighting heroically, the survivors were surrounded, and surrendered at Isbiceni on the Olt the very day (November 23) of the fall of Bucharest.

The First Army was now (November 5) in full retreat across Oltenia, resisting wherever a rise of ground gave cover. By the 9th they were on the Olt, and their line reached Argesh, where they touched the Second Army. They had about 55,000 men. They faced not merely the oncoming Kuehne Army, but the Army of Krafft von Delmensingen, composed of the German 10th Mountain Brigade and 216th Division, an Austrian Alpine corps and their 2nd Mountain Brigade. These two armies had over 120,000 men, with every possible refinement of equipment.

The Roumanian Second Army now extended approximately along the Carpathian frontier, from Argesh to the sources of the Putna. They had about 75,000 men. Opposite them were the Army of Gen. Morgen, containing the 8th Austrian Mountain Brigade, the 12th Bavarian Division, the 76th German Division and one Landsturm regiment; and Falkenhayn's left wing, composed of the Hungarian 51st Division, the 187th German Division, the 87th

German Ersatz-division, and the 22nd Bavarian Regiment. These totalled nearly 100,000 men.

The Roumanian North Army continued the frontier line from the upper Putna to north of the Trotush Pass. Its three divisions numbered about 50,000 men. It was faced by the 1st Austrian Cavalry Division, the 71st Austrian Division, the 30th Hungarian Division, half of the Austrian 61st Division, one Bavarian and one Austrian Landsturm regiment—together some 80,000 men. The Russian Ninth Army extended south from the Bucovina to a junction with the North Army. Opposite them lay the Austrian First Army, of 15 divisions, commanded by Gen. von Arz.

The Cerna and Danube detachments on the extreme southwest were pursued by the Szivo Group, consisting of the 145th Austrian Brigade and a brigade of German cyclists, and by two Bulgarian militia regiments. The 18th Roumanian Division ran from the Olt to the Oltenitza, with a division of recruits as reserve north of the Oltenitza. Russian troops continued the line to Harshova and there were other Russian troops in the Dobrudja, on the Topalu-Tasaul line. Desperate efforts were being made to reconstitute the 21st, 9th, 19th, 11th, 23rd and 10th Divisions, a brigade of the 5th and a cavalry brigade; but in the poverty of resources, all the more pitiful because of the exuberance of German facilities, very little could be done. The Germans had further an entire army (of Gen. Koch) in the district south of Zimnicea, of 5 divisions—the 217th German, 1st and 2nd Bulgarian, 26th Turkish and the 5th German Cavalry, under von Goltz. In the

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Dobrudja, from Turtucaia to Boascic-Tasaul, was a Bulgaro-Turk Army, under the command of the Bulgarian Gen. Tosheff.

This was the situation of the armies when a bold manœuvre of the Germans precipitated the decisive battle, called the Battle of Argesh or of Bucharest. On the night of the 9th of November Gen. Koch threw a bridge of boats across the Danube at Zimnicea, and by the 13th his five divisions stood north of the river, with only a few miles and a handful of soldiers between them and the metropolis. Bitter fighting in the mountains had drawn the last Roumanian reserves up to the relief of the weary troops on the Olt frontier. Immediately the Roumanian General Staff adopted a brilliant plan which might even yet have succeeded, had it not been for a fatal mischance.

The Roumanian First Army took over the forces which had been defending the Danube, and all the reserves available, and was given the task of holding up the three separate enemy attacks in this region—Gen. Koch's, the drive through Oltenia and the push down from Argesh. If possible, they were to deal a blow to Koch which should throw his entire army into the Danube. This enemy army contained about 80,000 men, plus two cavalry divisions; the Roumanian forces along the Danube totalled some 30,000. Mackensen had now taken complete control, of Falkenhayn's divisions as well. His plan was that Koch's Army should at once advance on Bucharest and try to draw together all the Roumanian forces, while the Army of Krafft von Dellmensingen and the left wing of Kuehne's Army, at-

tacking from Argesh and Slatina, should engage the Roumanian First Army in the centre, and Schmetow's cavalry and Kuehne's right wing, south of Slatina and Roshiori de Vede, should strike its left, in order to brush it away from Bucharest and if possible drive it north up behind the Second Army. At the same time, Morgen's Army with all other available forces was to make a front attack on the Second Army and keep it immobile. This simple and admirable plan, backed up by forces two or three times those of the Roumanians, who were now greatly harassed by the German cavalry wasting the plain in every direction, had nevertheless one weakness, which the Roumanians immediately pounced upon. It left Koch's army quite isolated, with a wide gap between his left and Kuehne's right. Orders were sent the First and Second Armies to resist at whatever cost, while three Roumanian divisions (one of cavalry) were hurled on Koch's flank, to cut communication between him and his base at Zimnicea on the Danube. Two Russian divisions were also to engage the Bulgarian right wing, attacking from the east.

The great battle began on November 16. The Roumanians in the mountains resisted heroically, and I have been assured by Roumanian officers that several affluents of the Argesh and the Prahova actually ran blood. The fighting was especially bitter along the Neajlov, in the identical spot where Sinan Pasha's army had been annihilated over 300 years before. In the Danube plains the Roumanian manœuvre against Koch's army began auspiciously; on the 19th brigades of the 9th and 19th Divisions surprised the enemy, and captured 5000 men, with 20 cannon and

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50 machine-guns. But on the evening of the 18th the Germans had captured two Roumanian staff officers and found upon them a copy of the Roumanian plan of battle. Falkenhayn at once perceived Koch's danger and detached the 11th Bavarian Division, part of the 109th German Division, and most of Schmetow's cavalry from Kuehne's Army, to dash south and fall upon the Roumanians. They arrived just as the Roumanians were about to complete Koch's disaster, and not merely extricated him but forced the Roumanians back toward the capital.

The game was now evidently lost; and the order was given the exhausted Roumanians along the entire Wallachian front to retire upon Bucharest. This was an operation of the utmost difficulty; the water-courses run north and south, and the movement was to be eastward, over the rough outliers of the Carpathians. Connection had to be kept up between the various detachments, so that the enemy should not pierce through and isolate one of the larger units. This was accomplished. The First Army, now reduced to four divisions and about 35,000 men, retreated slowly before the diabolical pressure of the seven divisions of Krafft's and half of Kuehne's armies, maintaining connection with the left wing of the Second Army, and foiling the enemy's efforts to turn their own left. Their rear engagements with the Germans at Piteshti, Gaeshti and Titu deserve the name of battles. The Second Army meanwhile was falling back from Câmpulung, mainly down the Dâmbovitza valley. It was announced that large Russian forces were finally on their way; but the Roumanian line was clearly too

thin to hold against the Germans in Wallachia, and with heavy hearts the General Staff ordered the evacuation of Bucharest, and the withdrawal to the line of the Sereth in Moldavia, there to build up a combined Russo-Roumanian Army which should drive out the enemy.

This manœuvre was carried out in the midst of the most unparalleled destruction, in order that the enemy might gain as little as possible by his successes. Enormous stocks of grain went up in smoke; the oil wells were systematically blown up or wrecked by a most competent English contractor. The only exception was the property of the Roumanian Star Co. at Câmpina in the Prahova valley; the Roumanians used this to the very last moment in their retreat, and it could only be superficially mutilated, as told on p. 27. As it was a German-owned concern, the Germans at once put it in order, and it was of great service to them; by the armistice they had nearly completed a second refining plant, doubling its capacity.

As in all Allied countries, Roumanian propaganda had systematically disseminated stories of German atrocities, and the population of Bucharest firmly believed that the oncoming German soldiers would cut off their children's hands, gouge out their eyes, etc.; hundreds of families of the poorer and more ignorant classes began plodding eastward along the frightfully cluttered highways, and many a poor youngster succumbed along the road to cold and hunger. Beside them trudged the exhausted soldiers, while German aëroplanes and dirigibles hovered overhead, dropping their death-dealing bombs without let or



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hindrance. Under these circumstances the Second Army made its way eastward, to the north of the Ploeshti—Buzeu—Râmnic highway; then came the First Army, reaching down to the middle of the sodden steppes of the Baragan; still further south plodded the remnants of the Danube detachments, flanked by the bewildered Russians, who had arrived just in time to take part in the tragic retreat, and help blow up the bridges as the last troops or the last train passed over them. The sky was overcast with the smoke-clouds from burning store-houses, oil-tanks and grain-elevators; the severest winter of many years had already set in; and flocks of scavenging crows settled down upon the carcasses and corpses scattered through the slush and snow, rising when disturbed only to wheel slowly back to their ghoulish task.

CHAPTER XV

THE LATTER COURSE OF THE WAR

OF all the proud army of over 600,000 men with which the Roumanians began their campaign the middle of August, only 200,000 reached the banks of the Sereth the middle of December. About 100,000 were prisoners in the enemy's hands; some 150,000 had fallen, or were lying wounded in the abandoned territory; another 150,000 were sick or wounded in Moldavian hospitals, or wandering from place to place seeking precarious shelter from the cold, and trying to rejoin their vanished regiments.

Aided by a French mission of 500 officers, under General Berthelot, one of Joffre's aides at the Marne, and by smaller British and Russian delegations, the General Staff undertook, in a truly Siberian winter, the rebuilding of the Roumanian Army. Modern encampments sufficient to house part of the troops arose from the Moldavian plain; new equipment began filtering in from Russia more rapidly; aëroplanes and pilots arrived and began their work. The soldiers were organized anew, into only two armies, the First and the Second; to the First were assigned three army corps, the 1st, 3rd and 5th; the Second incorporated the remains of the army covering lower Moldavia, in two corps (the 2nd and 4th). Each army corps was formed of three divi-

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sions; a division was made up of two brigades (four regiments) of infantry, a brigade of artillery, a squadron of cavalry, a battalion of pioneers and all the accessories—at last a sufficiency of machine-guns, grenades, gas-masks, helmets, not to speak of rifles! The foreign missions superintended an intensive course of training for the new units, with which were incorporated the boys of the new levy in Moldavia. During these five months of training, King Ferdinand passed from camp to camp, distributing decorations for past braveries, and encouraging the soldiers in their reviews for the great effort to be made the next summer. Queen Marie and the Princesses Elizabeth and Marioara, in the uniforms of Red Cross nurses, went from hospital to hospital. The Crown Prince became a chief inspector, helping to oversee the various forms of instruction given the army.

Meanwhile a horrible scourge had begun to lay waste Moldavia. Late in December isolated cases of typhus fever appeared, and multiplied during January, 1917, reaching an appalling maximum during February and March. Lack of clothing, of firewood and of soap made cleanliness almost impossible. Medical supplies were pitifully meagre. Some regiments actually lost half their effectives, and some towns over a third of their inhabitants. Wood for coffins gave out early, and the bodies were thrown into trenches; the intense cold aided rather than hindered the spread of the disease. But unremitting work on the part of the army surgeons checked the typhus in the spring, and by summer it had ceased to be serious; whereas in the occupied territory, the

German confiscation of soap, changes of clothing, etc., prolonged the scourge till into 1919.

In the midst of the typhus plague occurred the most fateful event of the war—the Russian Revolution. It came, strangely enough, just in time to save Roumania. In the last few weeks of the Russian Imperial Régime, the Russian generals in Moldavia made no further secret of their renewed mastery of that country, which should go the same way as Bessarabia. When General Văitoiano once protested to the Russia Commander-in-Chief, General Zakharoff, at the lack of Russian aid to the Roumanians against the Germans, General Zakharoff smiled and said “My orders are not to help the Roumanians, but to occupy Moldavia; and I have done so!”

For the moment, co-operation was maintained; but the Russian troops were naturally inferior to the Roumanian for the defence of Moldavia. The enemy made several attempts during December to penetrate near Oituz, attacking the Russian regiments; but Roumanian reinforcements (the Iron Division, the 15th) threw them back each time. The First Army was being reconstituted in the interior; the Second Army had the task of holding the frontier; but in general, for the first six months of 1917, it had no more serious task than an occasional local action to seize or hold some minor rectification of the line.

The Entente had been preparing a powerful stroke on every front for the spring of 1917; but the Russian Revolution gave them pause. Nevertheless late in April and early in May, the French and British

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delivered their blow along a front of some 125 miles, penetrating deep into the German positions, and capturing 50,000 prisoners and abundant material. The Russian commander, General Korniloff, taking advantage of the comparative quiet on that front, inaugurated the only drive launched by the Russian Republic. In mid-June he attacked on the southern Galician border, on a 35-mile front, and advanced 25 miles, taking 40,000 Austro-German prisoners. With this encouragement, the Roumanian General Staff determined upon an offensive in Moldavia. The First Army was transported late in May from its camps to the lower Sereth, taking its position between Hanul-Conachi and Iveshti. As finally constituted, the front ran as follows: Russian Ninth Army from the Bucovina to the heights above Ocna in the Trotush valley; Roumanian Second Army to Răcoasa; Russian Fourth Army to Vultureni; Roumanian First Army to Serbeshti, where the Russian Sixth Army took up the line. No dependence could be placed on the Russian Ninth Army, which was now saturated with Bolshevism; but the Fourth and Sixth it was hoped might second a Roumanian attack. By the end of June the heavy artillery was in place. The plan was to begin with a powerful bombardment along the entire line, especially heavy from the Roumanian positions; then the Roumanian Second Army was to strike in the direction of Mărăshti and up the Putna valley, in conjunction with the right wing of the Russian Fourth Army, which was to attack above Măgura Odobeshtilor (hill 1001 m.). After an interval of one to three days, according to circumstances, the Roumanian

First Army was to undertake an offensive across the Sereth, smash in the enemy's line, and fall on the flank of the enemy's troops that were engaged up the Sereth and on the Putna with the earlier attack. If successful, the attack up the Putna would drive a wedge between the enemy troops in Moldavia and those in Transylvania, and would push those further south into a trackless waste of mountains.

As the initial burden would fall on the Second Army, it was given various units from the First, and on the eve of the offensive was composed of the Russian 8th Division, the 9th, 14th, 13th, 5th, 7th and 12th Roumanian Divisions, a brigade of frontier-guards (*graniceri*) the 1st and 2nd Cavalry Divisions, and a brigade of cavalry. They lay along the east bank of the Sereth from Bilieshti to Fundeni, where they crossed to the west bank and extended as far as Tudor Vladimirescu.

The bombardment began at 11 A. M. on July 9th, 1917, and continued for two days and nights. It demoralized the enemy; and although they had the advantage of position up on the hills, the Roumanians succeeded in reaching all their objectives, including the village and heights of Mărăshti, which have given the name to the battle. They began their charge at 4 A. M. July 11th, and within four hours had over 1000 prisoners and 20 cannon at Mărăshti alone. On the 12th still further progress was made; the enemy appeared demoralized, and an Austrian order which fell into the Roumanians' hands gave directions for falling back to the other side of the mountains in order to reform and restore the units. The Roumanian victorious advance con-

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tinued four days more; but its effect was neutralized by the procedure of the Russians. Their 8th Corps of the Fourth Army, after two days' good fighting, announced on the evening of the 12th that they would go no further, since they had orders from "the Revolution" to cease fighting. The 40th Corps of the Ninth Army not merely gave no aid, but on the 12th abandoned the position of Măgura Cashinului which they were holding (elevation 1167 m.) although in no danger of attack from the enemy, who had retired before the attacks of the Roumanian 8th Division. There was no chance of exercising the summary methods of the Allies in Macedonia, who promptly disarmed the Russian troops when they became independent and set them to road-repairing under the same régime as prisoners of war! The Roumanians had to extend their thin line in order to fill the gaps left by the Russians, and could of course go no further forward. So on the 16th the offensive rested, after an advance of about 12 miles uphill, on a 25-mile front, and with a booty of 50 cannon, 80 machine-guns, 80 car-loads of munitions and 4000 prisoners; but the greatest benefit had been the discovery that the dreaded Germans would run, just like the rest.

The First Army made a still hotter artillery preparation for its advance, lasting from the 10th to the 13th of July; this was due to the greater strength of the German artillery on this front; it took three days to silence them. At last all was in readiness for the drive, when late on the 12th the Roumanians received word from the Russians that their government, for numerous considerations, was stopping

every offensive on the entire eastern front; therefore, they could not participate! For the third time during the war, the lack of the promised Russian aid proved fatal. Evidently the newly won positions could not be held without Russian participation; and with tears in their eyes the Roumanians obeyed the order of their staff to retire to the further bank of the Sereth!

Meanwhile portentous events were taking place further north. The Germans had countered to Korniloff's victorious offensive in northwestern Bucovina by a powerful drive north of Tarnopol. Not merely did they break the Russian front, but outflanked it, producing a rout which speedily sucked in the Russian units to the north and south. Orders were sent to the best divisions of the Russian Fourth Army to proceed to the Bucovina and strengthen the line there. The Roumanian First Army, in the Putna region, was stretched still thinner to close this gap, replacing the Russians. Mackensen, who had come in person to take charge of the operations, saw his chance to repeat the Tarnopol success, and concentrated a force of over 14 divisions (ten of them German) and several hundred cannon (some 12-inch guns among them) opposite the left wing of the now greatly weakened Russian Fourth Army, which held the front from the Sereth to Răcoasa. He reckoned with certainty on occupying Jassy, seat of the Roumanian government, on August 15th, the anniversary of the declaration of war, and the posts of administration for Moldavia were already assigned, just as they had been by Conrad von Hoetzen-dorff for Lombardy and Venetia in 1916. His plan

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seems to have been to try to pierce the Russian Fourth Army at Focshani and continue with the Sereth covering his right, while a second blow some two or three days later should crumple up the left wing of the Russian Ninth Army and the right of the Roumanian Second Army, and then to proceed down the Slănic and Trotush valleys.

By July 23rd, 1917, the Austro-German offensive in Bucovina had reached the Roumanian frontier near Suceava. There was danger not merely of a drive from here through the disorganized Russian forces down the Roumanian boundary, but still more of an attack gradually curving southward inland to reach the Pruth. The Roumanian General Staff at once issued orders for the troops of the First Army which were east of the Sereth below Tecuci, to cross the river and replace the units of the Russian Fourth Army which were leaving; all dependable units of that army, together with the Sixth and Ninth Russian armies were hurried up to the Bucovina, to stop the enemy's advance in that direction. The Roumanian Second Army now regained the 7th and 12th Divisions which had been lent to the First Army, and extended its front north of the Oituz highway up to the Doftana, to replace the 40th Russian Corps, who announced they were going home. Bolshevist and Austro-German propagandists were sapping the morale of all the Russian elements. The Roumanians throughout merely laughed at them.

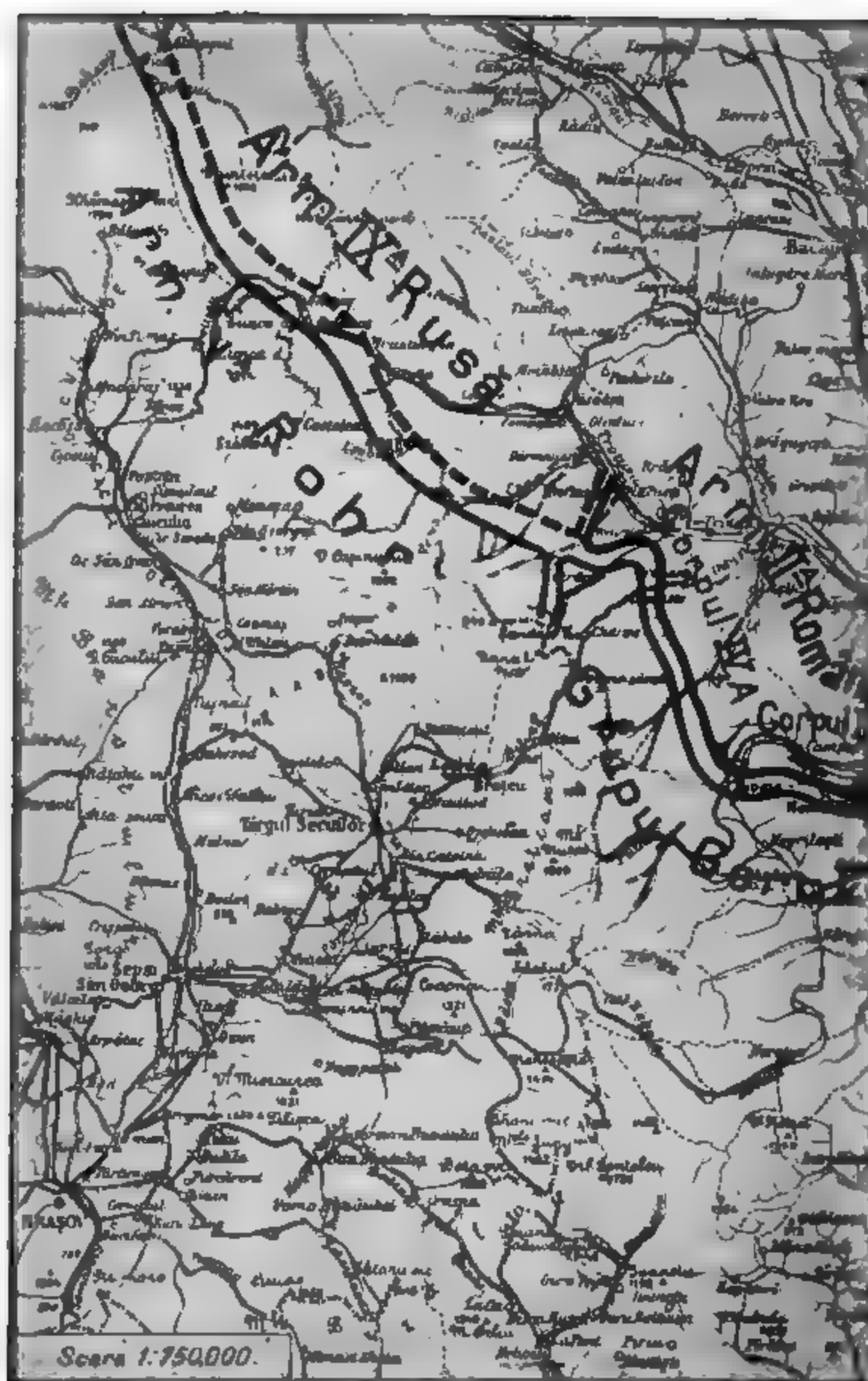
Mackensen launched his first blow the night of the 23rd of July, against the 34th Russian Division, on the left of the Fourth Army. After a terrific bombardment, with waves of gas, the 216th Ger-

man, 12th Bavarian and 89th German Divisions attacked at 4:30 A. M. the morning of the 24th, supported by the Sereth on their right and the railway to their left. The whole battlefield of Mărășeshti, by the way, lies along the main line from Bucharest to Jassy and to Czernowitz, and I have twice had the privilege of listening to the story of the battle illustrated from the car window. It will be many years before the traveller will fail to be powerfully impressed by the ruin he sees in passing.

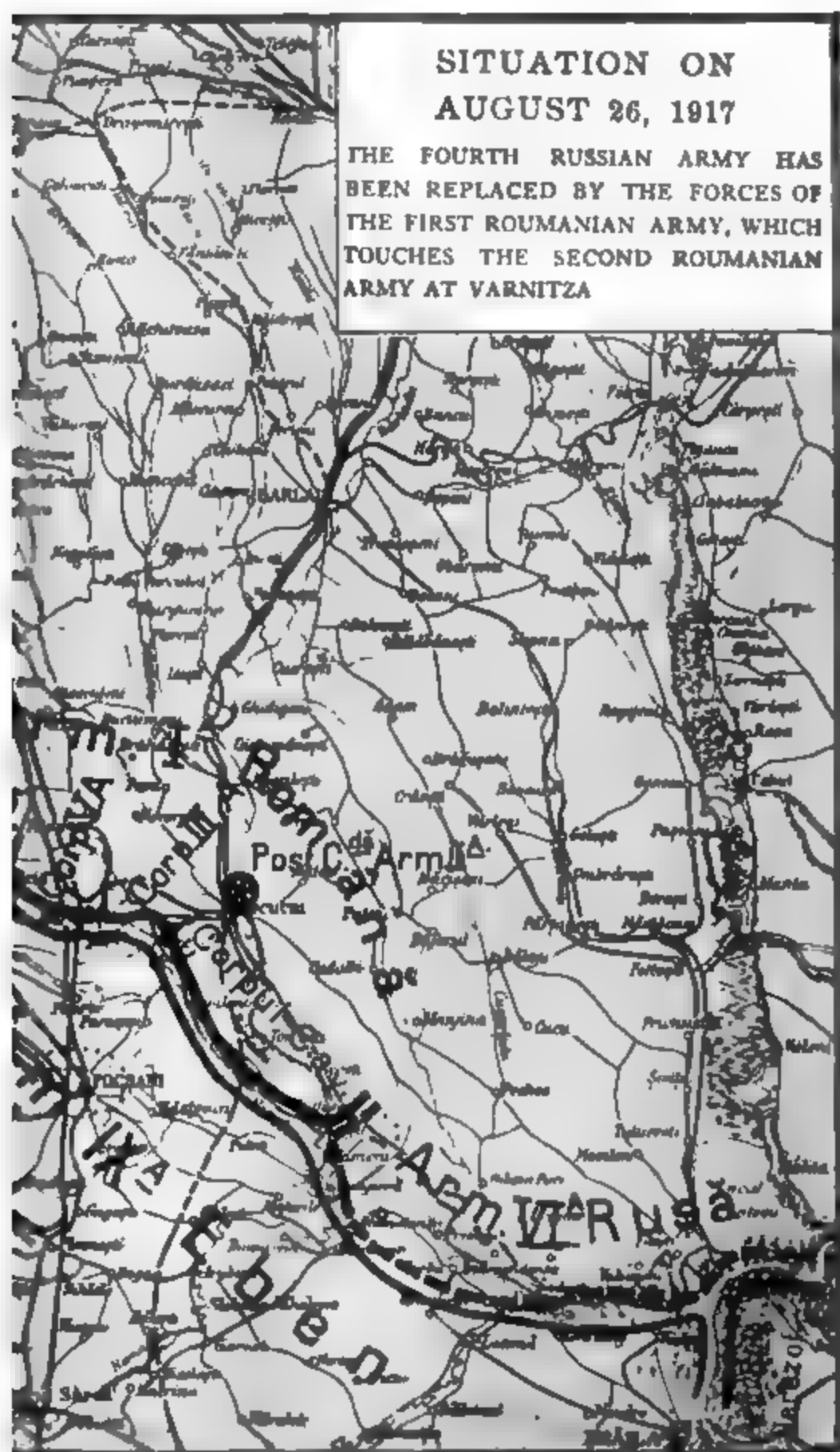
This first attack was successful; the Russians fled in confusion; there were no Russian troops available with which to stop the gap, and the nearest Roumanian troops, of the First Army, were across the river, south of Tecuci. Nevertheless by a forced march during the night, the Roumanian 5th Division succeeded in stemming the German onset. They were ordered to take the town of Străjescu and advance to Ciushlea. The Russian Command assured the Roumanians that Străjescu was still in Russian possession, and the Roumanians were approaching the town when to their astonishment they were met by a withering fire. The retreating Russians had failed even to send word of their disaster to their headquarters! The Roumanians had to retire upon Doaga, but unity of front was none the less achieved.

Mackensen opened a deadly fire the evening of the 24th upon the newcomers, who were interfering with his plans, and followed it up with three separate attacks that night and during the 25th, in the hope of annihilating the three regiments he had before him, before reinforcements could follow them from the





STAFF MAP TO ILLUSTRATE



BATTLE OF MARASHESTI



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further side of the river. They held; but the Germans found a Russian division, the 71st, at Bisi-gheshti; they fled at the Germans' approach, and a broad gap was made in the line between the 71st and the 13th Russian Divisions, next on their right. That threatened to turn the Roumanian 5th Division; they retreated *en échelon*, and formed a new line at an angle to the old. Under gall-ing fire, the Roumanian 9th Division filled the gap left by the Russian 71st Division. Late on the 27th they were attacked by the 76th Ger-man Reserves and the 89th Ersatz; the Rus-sians beside them gave way, but the Roumanians succeeded in filling their places and stopping the German drive. The evening of the 29th the Ger-mans repeated these tactics, and put to flight the Russians to the right of the Roumanian 9th Division; the Roumanian 13th Division had to rush and take their places: attacked on the 30th, they managed to hold their new positions.

Mackensen saw that more thorough measures were necessary: quiet reigned till late August 1st, when he began an infernal bombardment directed particularly at the remnants of the 5th Division, who were holding the bridge-head at Comesti. Overwhelming infantry forces followed up the attack, annihilated the badly decimated 5th and 32nd Regiments, and cut connection between the 5th and 9th Divisions. The 14th Division arrived to support the 5th just in time to receive another blow, late on the night of the 2nd. The enemy was so superior in numbers that the Roumanian command

decided to blow up the railroad and highway bridges at Cosmeshti. By this time only 5000 men remained of the 18,000 with which the 5th Division entered the fight! Less than one-third of their officers had survived.

Mackensen continued his policy of searching out the few Russians still remaining in the line, and together with his attack on the 5th Division on August 1, he combined a furious bombardment of the Russians who held Chicera (heights 334 and 283). They ran away without waiting for the inevitable infantry attack; the Roumanian 10th Division, which happened to be nearest, was rushed up, and after a series of attacks and repulses, succeeded in holding hill 334. The Germans attacked again the night of the 2nd, and isolated the 10th Roumanian Chasseur Regiment on hill 334, destroying all telephone and other communication; but they managed to beat the enemy off, and Mackensen saw that he must change his tactics.

The situation of the Roumanian First Army, during the first week of August, 1917, was as follows: On their left were troops of the Russian Sixth Army. From Suraia to near Cosmeshtii din deal, along the east bank of the Sereth, was a corps of dismounted cavalry, with some infantry reinforcements behind them. Then came the 14th, 9th, 13th and 10th Roumanian Divisions, holding the line up to Mănăstioara; the Russian 8th Army Corps then formed the connection with the left of the Second Army, at Voloscani. Behind lay as reserves the 15th Division, as yet untouched, and the 5th, which was being reconstituted.

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By August 6th, Mackensen had rearranged his forces, and struck powerfully against the 14th, 9th, 13th and 10th Divisions with a much larger army, composed of the 216th, 76th, 115th, 79th German Divisions, an Alpine corps, the 12th Bavarian Division, the 301st and 13th Austrian Divisions, a Bulgarian brigade and some units of the 212th German Division. Before the last remaining units of the Russian Fourth Army (between the First and Second Roumanian Armies) he set the 62nd and 217th German Divisions, with orders to strike at a propitious moment. He began his attack with a bombardment from about 700 cannon, among them some 305's, on the portion of the front between Cosmeshti and Mănăstioara. The town of Mărășeshti became the centre of the fighting; lost and retaken several times, the Roumanians finally occupied it permanently. The fighting seethed all day long; the bravery of the Roumanians, ably seconded by the handling of the reserves at critical moments, finally drove the Germans back; and the great victory of Mărășeshti was won. The 10th, 13th and 9th Divisions alone took 1000 prisoners; but the cost was terrible. The 9th Division came in with only 4000 of the 18,000 with whom they had started the battle.

But Mackensen, though defeated in his main attack, still had one hope, and ordered the attack on the two Russian divisions that still remained of the Russian Fourth Army, to the west of the Roumanian 10th Division. They had already lost many of their soldiers through desertion, and fled as soon as the Germans hove in sight. But by this time the Rou-

manian High Command was used to replacing Russians; and the gap which had just opened between the First and Second Armies was promptly filled by the last available Roumanian reserves. Now the 3rd Roumanian Division, on the left of the Second Army, touched the 10th Division, of the First Army, and there were no more Russians left in the front line. On the 20th of August, the 2nd and 11th Divisions entered the line. The First Army now lay along the east bank of the Sereth; the cavalry corps extended from Suraia to Cosmeshti; then came the 14th, 15th, 10th, 2nd and 11th Divisions; in reserve were the 13th, 5th, 9th and 4th.

Meanwhile a drama almost as gripping had been played along the front of the Second Army. There the Germans had attacked in dense masses on July 26, two days later than further south. At that time the left wing was held by the 7th Division, recently given back by the First Army; they replaced the 40th Russian Corps, who were now too communistic to fight. Their right went along the brook named Sărei (Doftana) to Slănic and Herăstrău, a mile west of Grozeshti; there the 6th Division continued the front to Măgura Cashinului; then the 8th Division ran to the Turbure brook. The 12th Division followed, and on the Lepsha hill joined the 1st Division; this crossed the Putna. Last came the 3rd Division, which connected with the 8th Russian Corps at Ireshti. They had no reserves. The 40th Russian Corps lay behind the 7th, to be sure, but were now permeated with anarchism, and filled with Austrian spies. The Roumanians noted the frequent exchange of light signals at night, and found tele-

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phone lines which ran from the Russians to the Austrian trenches.

Mackensen's plan was to attack along the Trotush, with the idea of obtaining Târg-Trotushului and Târg-Ocna, which were full of Bolshevist Russian soldiers; incidentally he would capture the last Roumanian oil-wells and salt-mines. He would also cut the Russian Ninth Army's sole channel of supply communication, and turn the right wing of the Roumanian Second Army. His bombardment, specially directed at the 7th Division, began during the 25th, and lasted continuously till 6 P. M. on July 26th, when his infantry attacked the 6th and 7th Divisions with greatly superior forces. He had opposite the Second Army the 225th German Division, the 70th Hungarian, the 15th Brigade of Bavarian Reserves, a battalion of Württemberg Jägers, the 7th Austrian Cavalry Division, the 117th German Division, the 8th Austrian Cavalry Division, the 37th and 71st Hungarian Divisions, the 1st Austrian Cavalry Division, the 218th German Division, the 217th, the 3rd Regiment of Grenadiers, the 59th German Regiment, and the 62nd Austrian Division.

On July 28th, the attack on the 6th Division relaxed somewhat, but the 7th Division had to give ground, retreating towards the Trotush. On the 29th, Mackensen redoubled his pressure; railway, stations and highway along the Trotush crumbled under his shells. The Roumanians launched their last hope—a counter-attack from the last heights left them over the Trotush (hill 789) with troops hurriedly detached from the First Army—a brigade of frontier-guards, a battalion of mountain Chasseurs,

and a division of cavalry. The Chasseurs swooped down on the Bavarians who were just about to enter Târg-Ocna, and in a moment they were dashing back to the heights which they had just left. This was one of the prettiest exploits of the war. These Chasseurs had left Târg-Neamtz on the 25th, had averaged 25 miles a day through rough country, and at 1:30 A. M. on the 30th had reached Brăteshti, 4½ miles north of Târg-Ocna. At 10 A. M. they received their orders to attack at 4 P. M., starting at once on a detour through the hills which brought them to the welcome waters of the upper Trotush at 3:30. They descended the stream, wading across, and promptly on time attacked the Bavarians, now coming down their last hill, with machine-guns and grenades. The attack was so furious and unexpected that the whole enemy division was infected with the panic of this first Bavarian brigade, and fled in such disorder that the Roumanian Chasseurs were able to pursue them three miles before the enemy artillery was brought to bear upon them. They had accounted for 1500 enemy killed, wounded and captured, and had themselves lost only 2 officers wounded, 2 men killed and 17 wounded! That cleared the Trotush valley of the enemy and gave the Roumanian Staff time to take the measures necessary to relieve the pressure on the rest of the front.

Mackensen, however, knew that time was not to be lost, and began a series of powerful local attacks, having as their object the seizure of one or other Roumanian position. These culminated in a desperate attempt, from August 16th to 21st, to take the

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Deal Porcului, a mountain which dominates the whole upper Sushitza valley. There were still Russian units there, who fled in disorder at the first heavy bombardment, and even hindered the arrival of the Roumanian reinforcements by cluttering up the narrow mountain paths; some Bessarabian soldiers of the Russian 14th Division did however stay, with their artillery, and put themselves under the command of the Roumanian 6th Brigade. The Germans attacked twelve separate times, and once succeeded in laying hands on the crest, but were soon driven back again, and finally gave up.

Mackensen was beaten. With a force prevaillingly German, opposed by a force part of which was Russian and melted away as he approached, he was stopped by sheer bravery and patriotism, seconded by able strategy. The great battle which he inaugurated on July 23, 1917, along the west bank of the Sereth, towards Adjud, and followed up on the 25th with drives down the Doftana and Slănic valleys towards Târg-Ocna, had ended, after a month and a half of desperate fighting. The Sereth battle had gradually spread westward; that about Târg-Ocna, eastward. By the middle of August it was all one great action, from the Sereth to the Doftana, on a 75-mile front. Mackensen needed only one weak spot to break through, and the whole front was gone; Moldavia would join Wallachia, Poland, northern France and Belgium. But he never found that weak spot; and by the end of August he had to retire to positions west of those from which he had started out, after losing some 80,000 men. After Brussiloff's offensive of the summer of 1916,

this battle of Mărășeshti was the greatest defeat of the Germans on the whole Eastern front. Gen. Averesco and his collaborators had won undying laurels.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ARMISTICE, AND TREATY OF BUCHAREST

ALL this bravery, all these sacrifices were neutralized by the course of events during the autumn of 1917. The Russian situation went from bad to worse; in November the Bolshevists got the upper hand in the army, ordered a general demobilization, and asked the Germans for an armistice which should usher in a general peace. Russia was the only source of military supplies for Roumania—and no more would come! Operations had ceased on both sides with the fall rains and the approach of winter; but Roumania was now beleaguered on every side, while the Germans had every facility of supply over the Transylvanian railways. By the early part of November the German and Russian delegates were gathering at Brest-Litovsk. Premier Bratiano told me that in this crisis he felt that the Allies should share the responsibility of deciding Roumania's fate. He wirelessly to Clemenceau, describing the situation and asking for directions. Orders reached him to disarm the Russians still in Moldavia. "That might seem quite an undertaking," he said smiling, "for we still had about a million of them wandering around; but luckily they had mostly disarmed themselves, and I was able to report within a week that I had followed directions. I then asked for further instructions." The reply throws light on the earlier

phases of the Allied Russian policy: "Take your troops and go to the assistance of the loyal Russian forces in the Caucasus." "Doubtless, in Paris it seems only a step from Roumania to the Caucasus," remarked Bratiano; "but after all it is a 1000-kilometre step, in the dead of winter, without roads, ships or railroads, and with provisions for only two weeks; it looked to me like a counsel of perfection." There was no escape; if Roumania did not sign the armistice, the entire German forces on the eastern front would be hurled against her; she would get no help, munitions or supplies from the Allies, nothing but such extraordinary counsels as those just related. "It was a choice," said Bratiano, "of saving something—the nucleus of an army, which could be reconstituted in favourable circumstances, or losing our last soldier up in the Triangle of Death in Moldavia, to no avail." The decision could not be long; and after four days of discussion at Focshani, the delegates signed the document on November 26 (Dec. 9), 1917; here is the text:

Conditions of the armistice concluded between the Russian and Roumanian Armies on the Roumanian front, on the one hand, and the German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish Armies operating on the same front, on the other hand.

1. Between the Russian Armies operating on the front between the Dniester and the mouths of the Danube inclusive, under the command of Gen. Stcherbatcheff, on the one hand, and between the German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish Armies on that same front, under the command of Arch-Duke Joseph and Fieldmarshal Mackensen, on the other hand, there is concluded the following con-

vention relative to a provisional armistice up to the moment when the question of war or peace shall be decided by the Constituent Assembly of all the Russias.

The Roumanian Armies operating under the orders of Gen. Prezan and forming part of the Roumanian front agree to this convention also, for the duration of the armistice of the Russian Armies on the Roumanian front.

2. Both sides are mutually bound to announce the resumption of hostilities 72 hours before they open.

The present convention is automatically canceled in case the German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish forces undertake an offensive on any sector along the entire front comprised between the Baltic and the mouths of the Danube inclusive, or in case of the resumption of hostilities on the part of the Russian or Roumanian Armies.

In this case also, the other side must be notified 72 hours in advance.

3. All hostilities along the front above mentioned in § 1, cease at the moment the present convention enters in force.

4. Aërial operations cease on both sides, not only over the enemy's lines, but also over a zone of 10 kilometres (6.2 miles) depth, measured from the first line of the respective signatories. At the same time, aërostatic activity ceases altogether.

5. Any passage of patrols or even of individual scouts is forbidden beyond their own front line, up to the barbed wire.

6. The outposts on either side are forbidden to pass beyond their own front line, up to the barbed wire.

7. Both sides bind themselves not to execute any works preparatory to an offensive, or any to the end of strengthening or developing their positions. No activity is permitted except to maintain positions or improve the physical condition of the troops (provisioning, sanitary conditions) or construct barracks.

8. From the moment the present convention enters in force, the two sides bind themselves to give no further or-

ders for transport for operations, movements and grouping, as well as to carry out no transports or groupings for which orders may have been given after Dec. 5 N. S.

For the entire duration of the armistice the customary exchange of units within the sectors of corps or armies is allowed, as well as movements of troops in the army zones, carried out with the aim of improving cantonments and provisioning the troops.

It is not permitted to replace troops retired from the zone of one army corps except with at the most troops of the same force and drawn only from the front mentioned in § 1.

9. It is forbidden to weaken the units at present disposed along the front by individual or collective withdrawals designed to strengthen other fronts.

10. The neutral zone for the period of the armistice shall extend between the outermost barbed wire lines of the two parties. In case there are no artificial obstacles, the zone is comprised between the trenches furthest forward, or between two straight lines representing trench-lines and indicated by placards.

In the region of the Danube delta, the neutral zone is the Arm of St. George.

11. Entry into the neutral zone is forbidden; but against persons not carrying arms who may wish to pass over it in the day time, no violent measures may be taken.

12. Every person belonging to the contracting parties who oversteps the neutral zone, is considered as a prisoner of war.

13. It is forbidden to sell, to give away or to consume alcoholic beverages in the neutral zone.

14. Misunderstandings which may arise during the period of this agreement shall be submitted to the decision of the delegates of both sides. The place and time of the meeting of the delegates shall be decided for each individual case, through the intermediation of a flag of truce.

15. The two parties shall have the right to make additional proposals for the modification of the stipulations of

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the present convention. To this end shall be called together a commission empowered with the same full powers as this present commission.

16. This armistice has regard also to the military river fleets of both sides.

17. The present convention enters into force at the moment it is signed.

18. This armistice loses its force whenever between the Supreme Command of the Allied Central Powers on the one hand, and the Russian Supreme Command and the Roumanian Supreme Command on the other, is concluded an armistice which expressly includes the whole front between the Baltic and the Black sea.

19. Through the intermediation of the delegates shall be given to each of the parties a copy of the present convention, signed and edited in French.

The signers express their desire that the question of neutralizing the coast between the mouths of the Danube and navigation on the Black Sea, as well as on all the arms of the Danube up to Galatz, be discussed and decided by a special mixed commission.

In the name of Arch-Duke
Joseph and of Fieldmarshal
Mackensen,
(signed) von Morgen,
Lt.-Gen.

In the name of commanding
Gen. Stcherbatcheff,
(signed) Gen. Keltchevsky,
Commander of the Ninth
Russian Army.

In the name of Gen. Prezan,
(signed) Gen. Al. Lupescu.

The great advantage of the armistice was the gaining of time. For the Roumanians it was essential to prolong this uncertain state of affairs until the Western Allies could bring about some improvement in the situation which would warrant resuming hos-

tilities. Furthermore, they had great hopes of the Ukraine. Russia was breaking up into a number of states, of which the Ukraine promised to be the largest and wealthiest in resources; and several of her public men were outspoken both against the Germans and the Bolsheviki. If the Roumanians had an Ententophile Ukraine behind them, they felt they might be able to fight on. But in a few weeks even this hope failed them; the Ukraine made peace with the Central Powers on January 27, 1918, earlier even than Bolshevist Russia!

Roumania had before her a watchful enemy, incomparably superior in men, guns, ammunition and other supplies. He was anxious to crush what remained of the Roumanian Army, in order to have a clear path to the wealth of the Ukraine. Behind were Bolshevist Russia and the Austrophile Ukraine. The Allies, who had encouraged her to come in under what seemed false pretences, were further away than ever. Within her borders were a million Russian soldiers, straggling and thieving through the countryside, preaching Bolshevism, pacifism, disloyalty to the dynasty and to patriotic ideals. And all Paris could do was to advise her Premier to send his troops to the Caucasus!

The Roumanian High Command took immediate hold of the situation with a firm hand. They set Roumanian reserves behind the portions of the front still held by Russian troops; they greatly increased the number of state police (gendarmes); they divided Moldavia up into military districts, each of which was entrusted to a military unit; every infraction of the regulations of the High Command

was severely punished; no Russian troops, even unarmed, might approach Jassy; none might leave the front or return into Russia without surrendering their arms. These measures were effective, and saved Roumania from the demoralization of her eastern neighbours.

Some of the Russian units did actually resist. The 9th Siberian and 13th Russian Divisions attacked Galatz on January 7, and their bombardment isolated the city and did considerable damage; but the 4th Roumanian Division, with hand-grenades and machine-guns, finally dispersed them, and the majority surrendered to the Germans along the Sereth. Units of the Russian 26th and 84th Divisions, several thousand in number, at Pashcani, on January 13, 1918, attacked the Roumanian detachment which had been sent to parley with them, killing their major as he was talking with the Russian representatives. The Roumanians gave them a brief baptism of fire, and after disarming them, shipped them over the Dniester. On January 14th some 5000 Russians of the 18th and 40th Corps, with 16 cannon, attacked six Roumanian companies near Falticeni; the battle continued till 2 A. M. on the 15th, when reinforcements arrived and the Russians surrendered. Other skirmishes took place about the same time at Timi-sheshti, Botoshani, Bacău and Roman. One of the most picturesque incidents was the arrival at Jassy of two trainfuls of Bolshevik troops from Odessa; they professed to be coming in order to suppress the bourgeois Russian Staff who were still co-operating with the Roumanians, but surrendered their arms meekly when confronted by Roumanian Chasseurs

and Frontier-Guards in the station. It is easy to imagine the scorn of the Russians which every Roumanian officer has who lived through the winters of 1917 and 1918 in Moldavia. Two Roumanian generals told me they did not know of a case where a Russian officer whipped out his revolver and told his troops to obey. They came in shoals to their Roumanian officer friends, weeping and wringing their hands and lamenting their inability to restore discipline; not one made a serious effort, they said. Denikin, by the way, was one of these Russian officers who promptly gave in to his troops and these Roumanians who knew him had nothing but contempt for him.

. Order was restored in Moldavia; but Bessarabia was in complete anarchy, a prey to wandering Russian bands. As we have seen, their autonomous government proved too weak to restore order, and the Roumanian troops were asked to enter and take control of the situation. On January 13, 1918, they marched into Kishineff; on the first of March, after many a skirmish with the Bolshevists, they reached the Dniester. The recovery of Bessarabia was some slight compensation for the trials on the Moldavian front.

The Central Powers viewed with a hostile eye the departure of the Russian troops from the Roumanian front, and the entry of Roumanian troops into Bessarabia; and on February 17, 1918, they gave notice of the cancellation of the armistice; however, on the 21st it was renewed till March 6, with the express purpose of allowing peace negotiations to begin. Nothing else was possible for Roumania

now. The Ukraine had signed the Peace of Brest-Litovsk on January 27, 1918; Bolshevist Russia had resisted longer, as so dramatically told by Col. Raymond Robbins, but yielded on February 17. On April 24 (May 7), the Roumanians affixed their signatures to the document which is known as the Peace of Bucharest, and which is summarized below:

I. The state of war ceases; diplomatic and consular relations are resumed after ratification.

II. The entire Roumanian army is to be demobilized, and the pre-war military budget is to be reestablished. Divisions 11-15 demobilize at Focshani; of the other 10, two may remain mobilized in Bessarabia till the Ukraine quiets down. The other 8 are to be reduced to 20,000 infantry, 3200 cavalry and 9000 artillery. No concentration of these troops shall be made before the general peace.

The excess of armament, horses, cars and munitions shall be surrendered to the occupied territory, to be guarded by the authorities of occupation. The troops in Moldavia shall be allowed 250 cartridges per rifle, 2500 per machine-gun, 150 shells per cannon. The Bessarabian divisions shall have munitions on a war footing.

The Roumanian troops demobilized are to remain in Moldavia. Demobilized officers and men may return to their homes in the occupied territory. Those on active service will need the laissez-passer of the German Kommandantur. River and sea forces, with all their equipment, are likewise to stay in Moldavia.

III. The entire Dobrudja is to be ceded: New Dobrudja, i. e., that taken in 1913, is retroceded to Bulgaria, together with a rectification of the frontier up to the Cernavoda—Constantza railway; the remainder of the Dobrudja, from this line to the Danube (Arm of St. George) is ceded to the Central Powers, *in condominio*.

The Central Powers will see that Roumania has a commercial outlet assured to the sea via Cernavoda—Constantza.

A rectification of the frontier in favour of Austria-Hungary shall take place along the Carpathians, bringing the frontier 5-10 miles further down toward the plain.

IV. Both sides waive war indemnities.

V. The Roumanian territories occupied by the military forces of the Central Powers shall be evacuated at a date to be agreed upon later. Meanwhile six divisions shall remain in occupation.

After ratification, the civil administration in the occupied territory shall be handed over to the Roumanian authorities.

The Roumanian authorities shall accede to the following provisions which the High Command of the Army of Occupation considers necessary in the interests of public security in the occupied territory:

Means of communication—railroads, mails, telegraph, telephone, etc., remain until new orders under the military administration of occupation. Civil and penal jurisdiction over the persons forming part of the Army of Occupation, as well as political rights over them remain in all their extent with the Central Powers. Their tribunals shall also try other persons and cases affecting the security of the troops of occupation.

Return into the occupied territory shall be allowed only in proportion to the extent to which the Roumanian Government supplies provisions. Even after ratification requisitions shall be made of cereals, vegetables, fodder, wool, cattle, meat, wood, petroleum and its derivatives; likewise the right shall continue to take the necessary measures for securing, treating, transporting and distributing these products.

The Roumanian Government must accede to the demands of the German High Command in the execution of requisitions for the needs of the Army of Occupation.

The maintenance of the Army of Occupation, and the cost

of requisitioning, shall be at the expense of the Roumanian Government.

Expenses incurred in the occupied territory by the Central Powers for public works (including industrial enterprises) shall be returned to them at evacuation.

VI. All the Contracting Powers have the right to keep war-vessels on the Danube, in their waters. Each Power represented in the Commission for the Mouths of the Danube shall keep two light war-vessels at the mouths of the Danube.

VII. All worships shall be recognized: Roman-Catholic, Uniate, Protestant, Mohammedan and Jewish; they shall have the same freedom and protection as the Orthodox.

All residents of Roumania shall become citizens without special measures, including the Jews.

VIII. Special agreements shall regulate economic relations, public and private law, exchange of prisoners and of interned civilians, the decree of amnesty, etc.

The Treaty of Peace shall enter into effect upon its ratification.

CHAPTER XVII

ROUMANIA UNDER THE GERMANS

THE Germans applied to Roumania the principles of exploitation which had now been worked out in Belgium, northern France, the Frioul and Poland. Their motto is well expressed in an order of the G. H. Q. of August 21, 1917 (No. 26,280): "The most important duty of the military administration in Roumania is the most intensive possible economic exploitation of the country to the profit of Berlin." This spirit dictated the Treaty of Bucharest, and the supplementary agreements which it sanctioned. It is well worth while to see how the Germans went to work.

The Treaty apparently forbade war indemnities; but it was nevertheless stipulated that subjects of the Central Powers should be indemnified for their war losses. There should have been Roumanian members in a Joint Commission to determine the amounts; but their appointment was continually put off, the Commission adjudged the amounts demanded, and even advised raising the sums in some cases. They permitted claims based on the losses of persons who had sold stocks or property in a panic, and assigned large sums to the families of persons interned. They had an easy method of making payment, by the notes of the Banca Generala Româna. This bank, which had had close relations

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with the Deutsche Bank before the war, was made their bank of issue by the Germans. It is instructive to study their financial methods. The stipulation of the additional agreement, Art. V, provided:

" Roumania shall reimburse from her own funds with notes of the Roumanian National Bank, or by other means of payment, within a period of six months from the ratification of the Peace Treaty, the notes issued by the Banca Generala Româna at the instance of the Administration of Occupation. These notes shall not be reissued, and thus the deposits and sums in the German Reichsbank to cover them shall be rendered available. Up to their withdrawal, the notes of the Banca Generala Româna shall be recognized as legal means of payment; after the ratification of the Peace Treaty, no more such notes shall be issued."

However, while Roumania was forced to ratify the Treaty at once, the Germans postponed indefinitely the exchange of ratification, and continued the issue of the bank-notes of the Banca Generala Româna. They admitted a circulation of over 2,283,000,000 francs in these notes; and when, after the war, the Roumanian Government decided to recognize them as legal tender, if they were brought in to be stamped, the amount was discovered to be nearly four billion francs of fiat money, at the charge of the Roumanian Government. The Central Powers had demanded a war contribution of 250 million francs on their first occupation of Wallachia, to be raised by districts; but in spite of the terrorism exercised, they had only succeeded in raising 25 millions in cash; they therefore issued departmental bonds for the missing 225 millions, taxing each department of

Wallachia for its quota; then they made the Roumanian National Bank take over the entire issue of bonds, and pay for it with 180 million marks' worth of bonds belonging to the National Bank, which happened to be deposited in Berlin when the war broke out. Then the Germans made these bonds the reserve for the issue of new notes by the Banca Generala Româna, their bank of issue at Bucharest; there was thus this small reserve for the four billions!

Roumania's financial condition, at the outbreak of the war, had been enviable. The budget had showed a surplus every year since 1902. Governmental obligations at 5% were quoted above par; the 4%'s varied between 93 and par. In 1910, the Roumanian National Bank held a cash reserve of 574 million francs in gold, and 80 millions in gold bonds; its management was most conservative, as shown by its failure ever to take advantage of its full legal note-issuing capacity; in 1900, a year of financial crisis, its issue reached 94% of the legal maximum; not even during the war did it surpass its legal quota, and it continued to publish a weekly statement long after other European national banks had taken refuge in darkness.

The fate of this gold is romantic and mysterious. In the spring of 1920 the Roumanian public was much disturbed by reports that considerable sums in Roumanian gold were appearing in western Europe. It was known that the gold reserve of the National Bank had been shipped to Moscow during the German invasion; and it had been whispered about that Lenin and Trotzky had used this gold to pay their indemnity to the Germans under the Brest-Litovsk

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Treaty, and that the Germans were using it to pay their first obligations to France and England. The story went on to say that the Roumanian Government had protested to the French Government, and had received for a reply only a polite version of the proverb "*Pecunia non olet.*" In view of all this, the Roumanian National Bank thought it wise to issue a statement in June, 1920, to the effect that the Roumanian gold-pieces in question were doubtless put into circulation by individual Roumanians who had taken refuge in neutral countries during the invasion, and that in all the gold sent to Moscow, Roumanian gold-pieces figured for only 750,000 francs. The total gold reserve of the Roumanian National Bank sent to Moscow, a little over 315 million francs, in French, English, Austrian, German, Italian and Turkish gold coin, was deposited in one of the structures of the Kremlin, guarded by a steel door which can only be opened by three keys, of which the Russian Government has only one, the other two being in the possession of the French Foreign Office. Without them, it would be necessary to blow up all this part of the Kremlin to get at the money. At the time of the battle of Mărășheshti, the Roumanian Government sent to Moscow all the gold still in its possession at Jassy. This was deposited in the Russian Government's safe deposit vaults, in a special compartment personally watched over till June, 1918, by Director Capitanovici of the National Bank, and then till into 1919 by Mr. Vidrasco, one of their higher functionaries. When he returned to Roumania with the keys, he was assured by the Soviet financial authorities that they would watch

over the deposit with the utmost solicitude, as being the property of the Roumanian people; and Krassin, on his mission to Lloyd George, assured the Roumanian commercial attaché at Copenhagen that the treasure was intact, and that the Soviet Government stood ready to return it to Roumania at any moment, as an acknowledgment of the correct attitude of Roumania in the Polish-Russian controversy. It appears that the bonds which form part of the treasure are assumed to be in existence, since the interest is regularly paid on them, and duplicates of the bonds were not issued, at least for many months.

The Roumanians were not only bequeathed the problem of the Banca Generala notes by the Germans; but their troubles with Russian rubles began during the German occupation; and at its close they were confronted with the paper crowns of the Austro-Hungarian issue in the Bucovina, Transylvania and the Banat. Speculators well understood that the final redemption of these crowns and rubles would be at a higher rate than in the surrounding territory; indeed, there was generally a high profit in smuggling them in at any time, and the Roumanian authorities were forced to inquisitorial measures in order to defend themselves. For instance, in May, 1920, there was discovered a package of one million and a half crowns on the locomotive of the Orient Express at the frontier station towards Hungary; and on June 22, 1920, a French aëroplane from Constantinople which had just alighted at the Pipera aërodrome at Bucharest was found to have a package containing 700,000 Kerensky rubles and 171,385 Romanoff rubles! Curiously enough, currency incon-

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veniences did not end with Roumania itself; I found by experience in late 1919 that though the notes of the Banca Generala circulated in Roumania itself on a perfect equality with those of the National Bank, even in the Bucovina they were discriminated against, and in Hungary and Jugo-Slavia stood lower than those of the National Bank. The redemption of notes of the Banca Generala at their face by those of the National Bank was scheduled to begin on June 1, 1920; but it was announced early in June that the new notes were not yet ready, and that the operations would begin during July; at the same time, thanks to a loan of four billion francs, the National Bank would redeem both crowns and rubles in lei (francs), 60% in cash and 40% in short-term notes. But this plan also met with difficulties. The impossibility of meeting the interest on Roumanian bonds caused a crisis the middle of June, 1920; the leu (franc) fell to 28.5 centimes at Paris. It was clearly a ticklish moment to undertake the conversion. Take Jonesco, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Finance, N. Titulesco, decided to postpone for the moment the conversion of rubles, and the notes of the Banca Generala; but the operation of retiring crowns for lei was carried out in 1920. (See Chapter XXXII.)

Thus the financial harm done Roumania by the Germans will long bear noxious fruit. But a further study of the Treaty will make clear how thoroughly they intended to exploit her in every financial relation. Article 19 of the Appendix provided that "land and rights in land, mining concessions, the right of using or exploiting land, enter-

prises or shares in enterprises, particularly shares of stock confiscated under martial law or forcibly taken away from their owners, shall be restored free of all charge which may have arisen during this lapse of time to the benefit of third parties, on a demand made within one year from the ratification of the Peace Treaty, and with restitution of all the profits resulting from this confiscation or dispossession." Article 8 provided for the payment by Roumania to all neutrals of whatever damage might have resulted to their property in consequence of the German occupation! Article 12 protected the German forced administrators and liquidators from any civil or penal prosecution, except with the permission of Mackensen himself. By Article 24, any German employed in Roumania before the war and then dismissed on account of his nationality, should be reinstated with at least the same salary. By VI. 25 and III. 25 of the Treaty, Roumania had to pay for the support of prisoners at the rate of 2000 marks (2500 francs) per officer and 1000 marks (1250 francs) per man, to be raised to 5 and 2.50 francs daily after April 1, 1918. This resulted in a long delay in the return of the prisoners from Germany, where their labour was grateful, and where Germany was drawing in addition fifty cents a day for their maintenance! On their return, 50% of those from Bulgaria and 40% of those from Germany and Austria were found to be suffering from tuberculosis, to which all the peoples of southeastern Europe are peculiarly subject. Bulgaria not having signed the Geneva Convention of 1906, exacted an additional indemnity for the repatriation of the prisoners, of a

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thousand cars of Bessarabian wheat. The total yearly indemnity for a prisoner had to be paid, even if he died the first day of captivity. This item of cash indemnity for prisoners amounted to some 150 million francs. Roumania had also (under Article IX) to restore or pay for all river or sea vessels and all railway material belonging to the Central Powers. The Roumanian Government was also to reimburse the Germans for their expenses in harbour and wharf improvement, the new oil pipe-line to Giurgiu, railway repairs, etc. The support of the Army of Occupation (six divisions) was set at 300 million francs in December, 1916, but progressively raised to 700 million. All these financial burdens, with the losses of territory, were reckoned at fifteen billion francs by Roumanian financial experts. And how much German indemnity did the Allies assign Roumania?

Lack of space forbids study of the very interesting banking plans of the Germans, which will be found detailed in Prof. G. D. Creanga's valuable "*Les Finances Roumaines sous le Régime de l'Occupation et de la Paix Allemandes*," Paris, 1919. But their economic exploitation of Roumania deserves a brief exposition. The Economic Convention monopolized Roumanian production for the benefit of Germany and Austro-Hungary till 1926; all exports elsewhere were prohibited. The prices fixed in Article XII for 1918-19 were: for wheat and rye, 38 francs the quintal (220½ lbs.; apparently about \$65 per ton, but the Germans had an ingenious system of exchange, by which it came to considerably less); barley, oats and Indian corn, 29; dried beans, 47; dried peas, 43; colza, 65. These were about one-

half current market prices; the Roumanian State had fixed the price of wheat at 70 francs! The price for the years 1920 to 1926 was to be fixed by a German-Austrian-Roumanian Commission, the chairman to be appointed by the President of Switzerland. The Roumanian population was to be kept on rations even after general peace, and representatives of Germany and Austro-Hungary should determine the exportable surplus. The seller should pay all taxes; Roumania was to pay the farmer, and eventually collect from Germany and Austria. All oil lands were to be ceded for 90 years to a German company, to be designated by the German and Austrian governments; the Roumanian State was to receive 8% on the gross output for the first 30 years, 9% for the second, and 10% for the third. It should also share in the profits of the company, but only after the distribution of 8% dividends to the stock-holders. The Roumanian Government should give this company all mining and forest rights necessary; it should recognize the validity of the liquidation of all American, Belgian, Dutch, English and French holdings, which had been seized by the Erdölindustrieanlagen-gesellschaft. The German oil-land company (Oelländereienpachtgesellschaft) was then to turn the crude oil over to another German company, again to be designated by the German and Austro-Hungarian governments; the Roumanian state was to cede this company all its pipe-lines and tanks. The Roumanian Government was to receive 3.60 francs per 2205 lbs. of crude oil (0.2% of the value!) and 4 francs for the same amount of derivatives (about ½%). There could be no importation of oil except

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with the consent of this company. The Germans set freight tariffs very low (at the expense of the Roumanian State), in order to increase their commercial advantage; the Roumanian State had to make up whatever deficit there might be in the railway balance—the Administration of Occupation running the railways! The laws of Roumania prohibit the owning or long-term lease of rural property by foreigners; the Peace Treaty provided that German companies might acquire both urban and rural property on 30-year leases, twice renewable—evidently with great German colonization projects in view. The agrarian law of 1917 provided for the expropriation of six and a quarter million acres of farm-land for the benefit of the peasantry; the Treaty provided that all persons owning city or farm property in 1918 should not be liable to expropriation. Furthermore, Germany did not neglect the aspect of Roumania as a reservoir of labour; the Peace Treaty allowed the Germans to recruit Roumanian labourers and send them to the German colonies or elsewhere, replacing them in Roumania with German colonists. They began this work of colonization in southern Bessarabia and in the Dobrudja, where there already were German villages; their idea was to make a chain of them around the Black Sea, winding up in Asia Minor. Roumania was to become a link in the greater pan-German chain; her products were put at the service of German industrialism; she must buy German and Austrian products. Roumanians were to become helots of the modern Sparta.

The Germans are admirable classical scholars. Tacitus tells us that as a result of the Roman re-

quisitions in conquered Britain, the poor Celtic peasant had to buy back at a higher price his own property requisitioned from him, or go sell his wheat in a distant market, when the Romans had already set one at his very door. See how the German system worked out in Roumania. The German authorities requisition a peasant's yoke of oxen, paying him 400 francs for the pair. They give him a requisition scrip, which has to be paid by the Roumanian Government. He now has no oxen to plough his land. The authorities visit him again and notify him that under Mackensen's ordinances 2 and 224, he must cultivate his land, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, or else have it cultivated at his expense by the military authorities. In his dilemma, they offer to sell him back his own oxen for 1500 francs. He can, of course, do no better elsewhere, so accepts the proposal; but the ploughing once over, the authorities step in again and requisition the cattle a second time for 400 francs. Thus the German military authorities gain a pair of oxen and 1500 francs for nothing; the peasant is out 700 francs and his oxen; the Roumanian Government is out 800 francs. There was also an ingenious system of fines. Eggs were requisitioned, at one or two cents apiece; the hens and pullets were all catalogued, and a standard production of eggs postulated; if the normal number of eggs were not forthcoming, the owner was fined ten cents per missing egg. If he wanted an egg for his own use, he must pay the authorities between ten and twenty cents apiece. Eggs, milk, butter, meat, poultry and fats were destined *exclusively* to German needs. Requisitioning kept on after the signing

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of the Peace Treaty, which should have stopped it, and reached a maximum during the summer and autumn of 1918, when it became evident that the final victory would elude the Germans, and that this was their last chance.

Perhaps the most serious feature of this evil was its consequences to public health. Roumanian children and invalids were deprived of milk, butter, eggs, chicken and other necessities, except at prohibitive prices. The confiscation of fats made soap almost impossible to get, and typhus (which can only be fought by cleanliness) raged far longer in the occupied territory than in Moldavia. Dr. Antipa, the distinguished biologist, accepted the post of Minister of Agriculture in the ministry formed at Bucharest under the German administration, in order better to protect his country's interests. He was so outraged by what he learned of the iniquities of the German system of requisitioning that he went one day to Mackensen and said to him: "Marshal, my biological studies have made me familiar with every living organism which Nature has evolved for the purpose of preying on lesser organisms; but not one of them is as successful in sucking the juices of its victim as is your requisitioning machine in draining the life-blood of the Roumanian peasant." But to all such protests the Germans had a ready answer; it was pitiful, to be sure, but the need and destitution of their own beleaguered people were so much greater than the Roumanians!

The Germans were incidentally responsible for some improvements, as in Belgium. Brussels was never so clean as during the German occupation; the

same was true of Bucharest. The Germans were annoyed by the troops of dogs which infested Bucharest somewhat as they once did Constantinople. They sent out and rounded them all up. The dogs reappeared shortly in the form of gloves, soap and sausages (the latter sent up to Germany!); and the streets of Bucharest were the gainers. The Germans disapproved of the plum brandy, the *tsuica*, distilled by every orchard owner, and commanded the plums brought in for their marmalade factories; and the German army had a new source of jam. The German passion for order caused many a surface amelioration in Roumania. But this was far outweighed by the incidental damage of the occupation, not to speak of the systematic exploitation. Every Roumanian family has tales of wanton destruction, wilful harm done by the invaders. The beautiful new hotel at Sinaia was wrecked; the lower floor of one wing was turned into a cavalry stable; the parquet flooring was torn up to build the fires whose smoke issued from the windows, and left black smudges over the white stucco of the outer walls. A Roumanian officer friend of mine found on reoccupying his Bucharest home that the Bohemian officer who had been housed there had taken away every article of furniture he possessed; a brother of his, whose place had been occupied by Turkish officers, lost not merely all his furniture but also the floors and walls, which were dug out and burned! On the other hand, some German officers were very punctilious; this officer's sister had a luxurious home, taken possession of by a high German officer, who left everything in good condition. The Bratianoos

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were greatly relieved, on re-entering their Bucharest villa, to find that ex-Premier Bratiano's unique collection of books of travel dealing with Roumania, was still intact, though various other books (largely in German) had disappeared, and that Mme. Bratiano's wonderful chest full of Roumanian costumes—the second or third largest set in existence—had suffered only slight pilfering. Such cases however were exceptional; Bulgaria, Austria and Germany were full of Roumanian loot, and the Allied commission investigating in Belgium after the war reported to Bucharest that they had found quantities of Roumanian rugs, costumes, etc., evidently brought up by German officers.

The Germans themselves supply us with the material for determining how much they abstracted from Roumania officially during 1917—their "Bericht der Militärverwaltung in Rumänien." Their economic staff (Wirtschaftsstab) had an organization which reached into the most remote hamlets; anti-Jewish sentiment in Roumania was inflamed by the prominence of Roumanian Jews among their subordinates; speaking Yiddish, they were very useful to the invaders. There were seventeen sections to the Wirtschaftsstab, and each section was subdivided; that on food supplies, e. g., had seven groups, designated by letters (A. Export, B. Cereals, C. Fats and Vegetable Oils, D. Eggs, E. Tobacco, F. Wine, G. Fruits). We learn from the report that during 1917 there were exported from Roumania 33 cars of silk, 160 of hemp, 1546 of wool, 63 of cloth, 143 of bagging, 439 various textiles, 1401 tanning materials, 4426 of leather, 35 various skins, 209 arms and

munitions, ten tons of copper coins, 49 cars of paper—in all, some 72,000 tons of textiles, leather, metals, chemical substances and raw materials. This from a country racked with war! They shipped out 1,422,585 metric tons (of 2205 lbs.) of cereals in 1917. There was not even honour among thieves. A note of the Imperial Ministry of Marine, addressed June 17, 1918, to the Ministry of War; Section of War-Material, numbered B VII d. 16,211, after noting that Turkey only shares one-quarter in the profits on Roumanian war-booty, begs to have the price for oil and motorine for the navy's use set so low that there can be no profit, since there is no reason why Turkey should profit from the war necessities of her allies. This Wirtschaftsstab had its own budget, which for 1917-1918 was, in francs:

Revenues	1,368,255
Expenses	53,000,000

The deficit, of 51,631,745 francs, was met from the 250 million war levy. For 1918-1919, the budget was:

Revenues	1,455,220
Expenses	401,455,220

The deficit of four hundred million francs was to be covered by the forced loan of 400 millions.

Another source of income was the fines for infractions of regulations. The German-Bulgar administration of the Dobrudja raised in fines in seven communes of the district of Constantza, the sum of 1,190,000 francs. They laid an infinity of taxes,

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which varied according to locality; the dog tax, e. g., was general in 1917, but local in 1918. There was a chimney tax; a head tax of 10 francs for every person above 16; a meat tax; a land tax, which for the district of Constantza was 4 francs per acre for holdings under 25 acres, and 16 for those above; a license tax, which for some companies was raised to a million francs; a circulation tax, of 5 cents for each time one left Focshani, e. g., after 6 P.M.; for 40 cents one got a permanent pass. It cost a franc to make a formal request to the German authorities. In some districts a pass cost four eggs. All owners of poultry had to pay a tax of two eggs per week. There was a pasturage tax, a tax for exemption from forced labour, etc., taxes for street-cleaning—all these in addition to the regular taxes of the Roumanian Government.

As a result, the spring of 1919 found Roumania without coal and wood, without wheat, with less than 20% of her stock supply of 1916, without forage, so that even cavalry officers had to stand by and watch their beloved mounts die of starvation—and this long after the war had come to an end; the Germans left only a hundred locomotives in the country (and 50 of them disabled), of the 1200 owned by the State Railways before the war. On account of the destruction of the oil-wells, the Germans had converted many of these to coal-burners, and the Roumanians have had to convert them back again. With the clearing up of the transportation problem, all other problems will be greatly eased.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BÉLA KUN CAMPAIGN

IF I have been handling controversial material hitherto, my task becomes doubly difficult as I approach Roumania's treatment at the hands of the Paris Peace Conference; the Hungarian campaign of 1919; and the present political and economic situation. Some of the most essential elements for forming a judgment in these matters are still lacking or veiled in obscurity; others are all too obvious, but lend themselves to differing interpretations. Relying in general as hitherto on Roumanian sources, I shall try to check them up so as not to give too partial an account.

The collapse of the Central Powers had been a specially bitter blow to Hungary. Chief movers in the declaration of war against Serbia, the Magyars felt that the Great War was particularly *their* war; and had the Austro-Germans been victorious, Magyar haughtiness would have been worse than Prussian. They had never been invaded, and their farmers and manufacturers had profited enormously. The realization of disaster was all the more poignant, and gave added force to the efforts of the Socialists and Communists finally to get the better of Magyar Junkerism. During the five months of the Károlyi régime, these discontented elements gathered

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strength, and came under the control of a clever Jew who called himself Béla Kun. The 133 days of Béla Kun's Red Terror form one of the most interesting episodes in the aftermath of the war, and deserve an impartial historian. We are concerned only with his aggressions on the Roumanians.

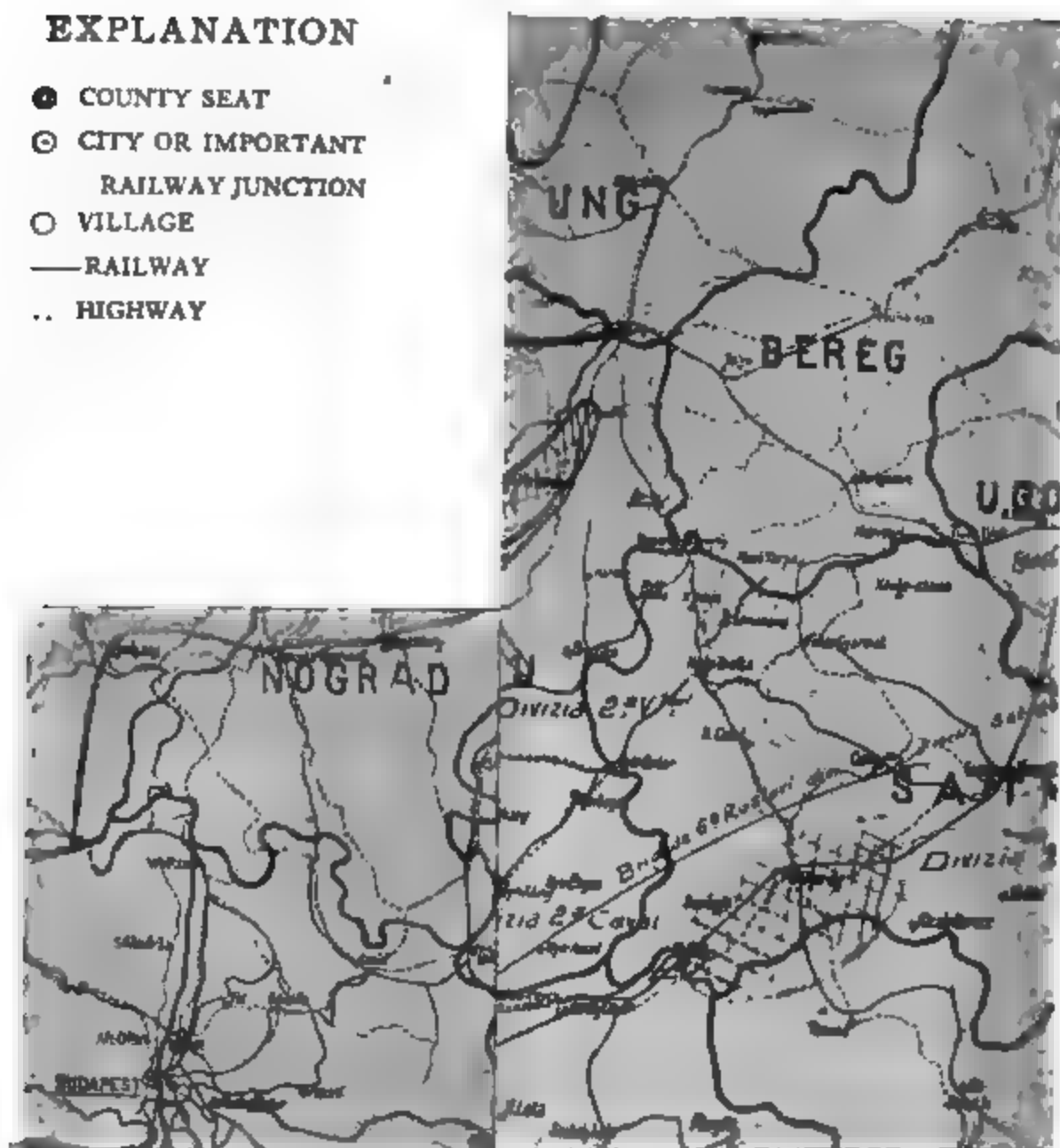
The first clash between Béla Kun's troops and the Roumanians occurred in April, 1919. We have seen that the Roumanians were promised by the Allies, before they entered the war, the whole of the Banat, with the Theiss for a western boundary. The Peace Conference seems to have been more or less anti-Roumanian in feeling; and Béla Kun evidently was given to understand that the territory east of the river for a considerable distance would be Hungarian. The strange partiality of the Peace Conference to this adventurer needs clearing up. Dr. Dillon preserves the sinister rumours which filled Paris on this subject; but they are clearly only part of the explanation. At any rate, Béla Kun's troops were not strong enough for the task of driving out the Roumanians forcibly—the latter refused to leave till the Peace Conference should make a formal open announcement, incorporated into a signed treaty—and the brief campaign closed with Béla Kun's withdrawal west of the Theiss, on April 16, 1919.

Encouraged by the attitude of the Peace Conference, and anxious for the popularity that extending Hungarian boundaries would give him, Béla Kun now bent all his energies to the creation of a powerful and well equipped army. He was much helped in this by his possession of Mackensen's material, including heavy artillery. A preliminary campaign

against the Bohemians was successful in regaining a slice of Slovakia; and by the 20th of July he felt strong enough for his attack on the Roumanians, particularly as his spies had ascertained that the Roumanians had few troops in the Banat, and not many in Transylvania, the bulk of their army being needed on their eastern front, where a Russian Bolshevik attack was constantly threatening. Béla Kun's forces would seem to have been as follows: the First Army Corps centred at Czegléd, consisted of the 2nd Division (at Kecskemét), the 6th (at Nagy-Körös) and the 7th (at Szolnok). The Second Corps was formed on the other side of the Danube, and comprised the 4th Brigade and the 8th Division. The Third Corps' headquarters were at Hatvan; it was composed of the 1st Division (at Miskolcz), the 5th (at Jász-Ladány) and two brigades of Szeklers, the 2nd (at Szerencs) and the 3rd (at Sárospatak). The Fourth Army Corps included the 4th Division (at Kistelek), the 3rd (on the Czecho-Slovak frontier) and the 9th (of Red Workers, at Buda-Pesth). They had also several battalions of frontier-guards down in the south, to guard against an incursion from the Franco-Serb troops, of whom (like the Roumanians) they did not have a very high opinion. They had some 75 field batteries, and a quantity of Mackensen's heavy artillery—12 and even 16-inch guns. In general, their divisions were made up of three or four infantry regiments, each regiment with three or four battalions, and each battalion with four companies of about 130 men, plus a company of workers, and a Red Guard. Béla Kun's whole army apparently

EXPLANATION

- COUNTY SEAT
- ⊙ CITY OR IMPORTANT
RAILWAY JUNCTION
- VILLAGE
- RAILWAY
- .. HIGHWAY



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totalled at least 160 battalions (about 90,000 men), 6 squadrons, 75 batteries and 964 machine-guns. Of these, about 150 battalions with 60 batteries were on the Theiss front, opposite the Roumanians.

As we lack any detailed and authoritative description of this campaign, which is strategically one of the most interesting and valuable of the whole war, I induced the Roumanian High Command in Budapest to make up for me from staff reports a full analysis (with maps), and shall utilize it for this account.

Béla Kun had completed the arrangement of his forces about the middle of July; and by the 19th his practice artillery fire and aerial reconnoissance were in full swing. The Roumanians had only two groups opposite him—the North Group, composed of the 16th Division, which was guarding the Theiss from the mouth of the Somesh (Szamos) to Abád Szalók, and the 2nd Division of Chasseurs in reserve; and the South Group—the 18th Division, along the Theiss from Abád Szalók to the mouth of the Muresh, with the 1st Division of Chasseurs in reserve. The reserves scattered through Transylvania consisted of the 1st Division, at Careia Mare (Nágy-Károly); the 2nd Division of cavalry, in the region Uj-Fé hértó—Hajdú-Hadház—Nyir-Adony—Balkány; the 6th Division, at Oradia Mare (Grosswardein, Nagy-Várad); and the 1st Division of cavalry, in the region Sarkad—Szeghalom. The Roumanians thus had only two divisions along the river, with two more in reserve; Béla Kun attacked with six divisions and three brigades. At 3 A.M. on July 20th, 1919, he launched three of these divisions

against the thin Roumanian line at Szolnok, after a heavy bombardment from the large Mackensen cannon. Secondary attacks were started at the same time in the Tokay and Poroszló sectors in the north, and in the Csongrád district in the south.

In the northern region, the Hungarians crossed the Theiss at 8:30 A.M. near Szabolcs, Sziget and Tisza-Dob. With overwhelmingly superior forces they occupied the villages of Timar, Rakamaz and Tisza-Eszlár. The troops which had crossed at Tisza-Dob and Tisza-Dada were however met with reserve forces, and driven back across the Theiss before the evening of the 20th. In the southern region, the enemy crossed near Szolnok, Szentes and Mindszent, driving back the Roumanians, and occupying Török-Szt.-Miklós, Szentes and Hódmező-Vasárhely. In the face of this powerful attack, the commander of the South Group, Gen. Holban, concentrated the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division of Chasseurs at Orosháza, together with a battalion from the 2nd Brigade; the 6th Regiment of the 2nd Battalion was sent hurriedly to Puszta-Sz.-Tornya. The High Command in Transylvania at once determined on a clever manœuvre. The Hungarian troops in the northern sectors should be attacked and driven back across the Theiss; but in the south, the enemy should be allowed to advance up to a line west of Kis-Ujszállas, Mezötúr and Orosháza. Meanwhile the 2nd Division of cavalry should concentrate in the region Madaras—Karczag; the 6th Division about Báránd—Udvari; and the First about Püspök-Ladány—Kaba. These three divisions should constitute the Manœuvre Group, under Gen.

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Moshoiu, with headquarters at Debreczin. He should also receive Gen. Olteanu's 5th Brigade of Roshiori (red-coated cavalry, from "roshiu," red); and the 1st Division of cavalry should await his orders. The 20th and 21st Divisions, further inland in Transylvania, were started westward, and reached the front July 24th.

On July 21st, the enemy continued his way eastward from the Theiss in the southern sectors, driving back the 91st and 92nd Roumanian Regiments with heavy losses. The total Roumanian losses in these actions, by the way, were about 5000 killed and a large number wounded. It was clear that reinforcements were urgently needed in the south, and another regiment of Chasseurs and a thousand dismounted cavalry were hastily dispatched to their aid. The 1st Cavalry Division also sent a brigade of Roshiori and some mounted artillery to Gyoma, to await their orders. The 1st Division of Chasseurs now touched the 18th Division on its right, and the 76th French Division on its left, in the Jugo-Slav district. Orders were sent the North Group to resist at all costs and keep the enemy occupied while the main action should evolve around Szolnok, where the South Group should entice the enemy towards Mezötúr—Túrkeve and even east of the Bereteu (Berettyo). The 1st Chasseurs should clean up the district about the confluence of the Crish (Körös) and the Theiss, proceeding then to help in the main action at Szolnok. Gen. Moshoiu's Manœuvre Group was to attack on the flank and rear the enemy's troops as soon as possible after they left Szolnok; the plan was to cut

the enemy to pieces between the Theiss and the Bereteu.

On July 22nd, the Hungarians succeeded in crossing the Theiss again, between Tisza-Füred and Tisza-Oers, and occupied the former town at 5:30 P.M. They were able to maintain themselves there or in the vicinity till the 26th. In the southern district, the Hungarians crossed on the 22nd at Tisza-Roff and Tisza-Süly, driving back the 18th Chasseur Regiment nearly to Madaras, and defeating with heavy losses a battalion, battery and squadron belonging to the First Chasseur Division. On the 23rd they took Kis-Ujszállas, and with the help of local irregulars, the town of Mezötúr. The Roumanians retreated along the south bank of the Bereteu. Further south, advance troops of the 1st Chasseurs took Mindszent; the Hungarians now lined the entire west bank of the Theiss from the Crish to the Muresh.

In view of the dangerous situation, which there was no hope of remedying in season from Roumania, on account of the transportation crisis, the High Command decided to form other mobile units to aid Gen. Moshoiu's Manœuvre Group. Gen. Pap was given a part of the 18th Division and the 4th and 6th regiments of the 1st Division of Chasseurs, to keep concentrated in the Kis-Ujszállas—Túrkeve—Mezötúr district and immobilize the enemy's forces along the south bank of the Bereteu. Gen. Leca was put in charge of the 1st Brigade of Chasseurs, two battalions of the 90th infantry, and one of the 89th, together with the 4th Brigade of Roshiori to distract the enemy's attention north of Szarvas and Oecsöd.

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A third group, under Col. Pirici, and composed of the 107th Regiment of infantry, two companies of the 1st Chasseurs, and a battalion from the 89th Infantry, was sent to prevent any enemy crossing south of the point where the Crish empties into the Theiss.

Gen. Moshoiu began his manœuvre on July 23rd, launching the 1st Division of infantry and the 12th Brigade of the 6th from Karczag in the direction of Hornimir, to cut the enemy's communications via Szolnok. On the 24th, his troops succeeded in taking Kunhegyes, and in driving the main body to a point near Kenderes, where they offered a bitter resistance. It was therefore decided to have the South Group attack on the 25th between Oecsöd and Túrkeve with all the troops available, along the Bereteu and the Crish. Meanwhile the North Group was kept busy by numerous minor attacks; in the south, the 84th Infantry and 10th Chasseurs took Tisza-Füred from the enemy on the 24th.

On the 25th, the Hungarians managed to drive the 1st Division out of Fegyvernek, but were stopped a couple of miles east of there. That same morning the 11th Brigade took Kis-Ujszállas, and the three new mobile units were set in motion; Gen. Pap's group took Túrkeve, Gen. Leca's moved in three columns upon Szolnok, Török-Szt.-Miklós and Mezötúr, and Col. Pirici's occupied Szentes. The Roumanian combination of the hammer blow and the pincers movement was immediately successful. On July 26th, a Roumanian offensive in the north in two columns, one in the direction Venczellö—Balsa—Szabolcs, the other along the highway and rail-

road leading to Rakamaz, drove the Hungarians across the Theiss. By 9 P.M., the Manœuvre Group also had the satisfaction of seeing its last Hungarian opponents reach the other shore of the river; Gen. Pap's and Gen. Leca's divisions met at Szolnok, where a Hungarian force still held the bridge-head, and sent them packing westward, also.

What was left of Béla Kun's army was now west of the Theiss. It was still a respectable force, with much heavy artillery, and capable of annoying activity. Both sound strategy and political considerations demanded that it be captured or annihilated; so the Roumanian High Command determined to follow it up at once and destroy it, if possible. Accordingly, the troops were concentrated along the river and regrouped, so that on the 29th of July there were six main units: Gen. Holban's group, consisting of the 2nd Chasseur Division east of Fegyvernek, and the 1st, south of that point; Gen. Moshoiu's of the 6th Division of infantry at Török-Szt.-Miklós, and the 1st, at Szolnok; Gen. Dumitrescu's, of the 7th Division, the 2nd Cavalry Division, and a regiment of Alpinists, all at Madaras; the North Group, of the 16th Division, the 49th Brigade of the 20th, and three mountain batteries, covering the sector north of Abád-Szalók; the 18th Division, plus the 107th Regiment of infantry and the 11th Brigade of artillery, to the south of Abád-Szalók; and a reserve consisting of the 2nd Division, to be concentrated between Arad and Kunhegyes. The strategy determined on was both sound and clever, and completely successful. The troops were to cross the river the night of the 29th; the main attack should

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be delivered in the Kis-Köre—Fegyvernek sector, where the enemy had his two main groups; and in the midst of this attack, the cavalry division should attack him from the rear, and at the same time cut his railway communication with Buda-Pesth. Gen. Holban was to cross first, followed by Gen. Moshoiu. Gen. Dumitrescu was to cross to Kis-Köre, and then cut the Miskólcz—Buda-Pesth railroad in the region of Kál, as well as attack the enemy's troops which should try to prevent the main crossing at Fegyvernek—Tisza-Bó; his cavalry and Alpinists should continue the work of cutting railway communication as soon as they could be spared. The North Group were to cross and immobilize the enemy in their sector, but not work west of a line five or six miles from the river.

Gen. Holban crossed during the morning of the 30th, and by night his troops held several villages west of the river. Gen. Dumitrescu crossed the following day, building a bridge at Kis-Köre, and his cavalry at once struck out for Kál, in order to cut the railway, and turn the enemy's position. The 7th Division concentrated in the zone Heves—Atány—Tarna-Szt.-Miklós, to serve as the pivot for the cavalry manœuvre, assure freedom of action to the main body of troops, and if necessary, act with them. Gen. Moshoiu's group crossed also on the 31st, at Tisza-Bó, reaching Bessenyszög after desperate resistance on the part of the Hungarians, and forming a line with the 2nd Chasseurs a mile east of Rékas and north of Szolnok, with the left wing resting on the Theiss. Gen. Holban's troops reached Kis-Er the 31st, and continued their advance August 1st,

as did Gen. Moshoiu's; but the enemy drew heavy reinforcements from Abony and attacked in the region of Szolnok, driving some of the 18th Division back across the Theiss, and forcing others, of the 6th Division, northwest of Szolnok, to cross the Zagyva River to avoid being surrounded.

On August 2nd the Roumanian High Command became convinced, from a study of the enemy's strategy and from the reports of their intelligence department, that Béla Kun's intention was to retire at once to Buda-Pesth, leaving only troops enough to hinder the Roumanians and cover his retreat, and utilize the resources of the capital for a final blow. Gen. Holban was therefore set over a strategic vanguard, consisting of the 2nd Cavalry Division, 3rd and 5th Brigades of Roshiori and the 1st Chasseur Division; the cavalry to support the 5th Brigade toward Alberti and the 3rd to Nagy-Káta, covering the district between the Jász-Berény—Hatvan—Aszód railway on the north and the Kecskemét—Buda-Pesth line on the south, cutting this latter and those between Szolnok and Nagy-Káta and Szolnok and Alberti. The 1st Chasseurs were to advance into the district Tápió-Szele—Tápió-Györgye. Gen. Moshoiu's Manœuvre Group was now constituted of the 2nd Chasseurs and the 1st Infantry; the former was ordered to occupy Jász-Al-Szt.-György and Jász-Ladány, while the latter advanced in the district of Roszas-Uy-Mir—hill 98 Rékas—Ujszász. The 2nd Division of infantry formed a reserve, concentrating about Bessenyszög. The right flank was protected by the 2nd Brigade of Roshiori, who were to reconnoitre toward the northeast and feel out any enemy

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concentration in that direction; and by troops of the 7th Division, who were sent to Poroszló to help the 49th Brigade in crossing, and then deploy in the region of Jász-Mihálytelej—Jász-Apáti. The left wing was guarded by the 6th Division and the 4th Roshiori Brigade, under Gen. Olteanu; the former was to occupy the country around Abony, supported by the 4th Brigade along the line Abony—Törtel—Nagy-Körös—Kecskemét. The 49th Brigade, after crossing at Tisza-Füred, with the necessary artillery borrowed of the 16th Division, was to occupy the Eger-Lövö—Eger-Farms zone, and form the pivot for the turning manœuvre of the 2nd Roshiori Brigade.

All these operations were successfully inaugurated on August 2. Gen. Moshoiu's troops met with desperate resistance between Szolnok and Abony; but at night Hungarian officers appeared under a white flag, to treat for the surrender of the 3rd, 5th and 6th Hungarian Divisions, holding the district Czegléd—Abony. Others on a similar mission from the 4th Division, at Csongrád, came to the bridge-head at Szentes. Word arrived also at headquarters that isolated units in the north had now become detached from the main Hungarian force, which were south and west of the line Czegléd—Abony—Uj-Kécske; outside this line were fragments of the 1st Hungarian Army Corps, viz., the 2nd and 7th Divisions, and the 5th Division of the 3rd Corps. Down by Kecskemét were part of the 4th Army Corps, and the 4th Division was in confusion further south along the Theiss and on the Franco-Serb line. To eliminate all these troops, the Roumanian High Command

ordered on August 3 that the 5th Roshiori should push further west to cut communication with Buda-Pesth, establishing contact with the 3rd, who were to advance from Jász-Apati toward Jász-Berény—Monor; the Alpinists should join the cavalry. Of the Manœuvre Group, the 1st Division was ordered to move to Czegléd, and the 2nd Chasseurs to Tápió-Szele. On the right wing, the 7th Division was sent to Jász-Berény, protected by a cavalry regiment in the Hatvan district, and by another on its rear. Its task was to reconnoitre the Miskólcz zone and form a connection with the 16th Division, which was crossing at Tokay. The movement was to pivot around the 49th Brigade. On the left wing, the 6th Division was to proceed to Nagy-Körös and the 4th Brigade of Roshiori to Alberti, then turning south to threaten the enemy's rear, and cut the Szegedin—Buda-Pesth railway.

These operations went at once into effect on the 3rd of August. Gen. Dumitrescu's troops surrounded the Hungarian 1st Division, which capitulated that afternoon. Gen. Holban's 2nd Division of cavalry reached by evening a point only nine miles east of Buda-Pesth, and his 3rd Brigade of Roshiori got to the Danube not far southeast of the capital. Gen. Moshoiu's Manœuvre Group took Czegléd and reached its other objectives. Gen. Olteanu's 4th Brigade turned the enemy's position near Kecskemét, and the 6th Division received the surrender of the Hungarian 12th Brigade of infantry, with three battalions and four batteries of the 3rd Division, and their staff.

For August 4th, the High Command ordered Gen.

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Moshoiu to work southward to the Franco-Serb line; Gen. Holban and Gen. Dumitrescu to extend their operations west to the Danube and north to the Czecho-Slovak frontier; the cavalry division to encircle Buda-Pesth to the west. During the day, Gen. Davidoglu, of Gen. Dumitrescu's group, occupied Erlau, and Gen. Holban took Hatvan, where they found 38 badly-needed locomotives. The 2nd Cavalry Division reached the Buda-Pesth bridge-head during the morning; and at 6 P.M. the capital of Hungary was formally occupied by the 1st Division of Chasseurs. A detachment composed of the 4th Regiment of Chasseurs, artillery from the 23rd Regiment, and part of the 6th Regiment of Roshiori paraded through the heart of the city before Gen. Mărdărescu, Commander-in-Chief for Transylvania, Gen. Panaitescu, his Chief of Staff, Gen. Holban, Commander of the Strategic Advance-Guard, and a huge concourse, in whose faces could be seen the struggle between the humiliation of defeat at the hands of the despised Wallachs, and relief at the overthrow of the Red Terror.

The Allied Commissioners then governing Buda-Pesth seemed nearly as hostile to the Roumanians as were the Hungarians. Acting doubtless under orders from Paris, they had done everything possible to keep the Roumanians out of Buda-Pesth. Gen. Prezan, the Roumanian Chief of Staff, told me that they sent out two young Italian officers as delegates to him, to forbid his entry into the city. "I said to them," he continued, "'Why, how is this? You wear the Italian uniform! You Italians and we Roumanians have fought for years side by side against

the Hungarian; and now you appear to plead for him! You must be impostors, masquerading in Italian uniforms!' So I put them under technical arrest and held them for 24 hours, to give them a lesson, and then let them go." The same hostility marked their attitude to the Roumanian administration of Buda-Pesth. The Roumanians were under the clear duty, after their experience of over a thousand years with the Magyar, culminating in April and July, 1919, to put him *hors de combat*, unable to renew his offensive; but when they set about this, certainly no more vindictively or thoroughly than the Allies against the German, Paris and her representatives in Buda-Pesth discovered a deep sympathy for the down-trodden Magyar, chevalier of Eastern Europe, and a strong prejudice against the treacherous Balkan semi-savages who by a freak of war were now oppressing them. Control of the world's cables, seconded by vigorous Hungarian propaganda, carried this view broadcast, and gave the world a thoroughly distorted impression. Having had the good fortune to see Buda-Pesth under Roumanian control in October, 1919, I shall narrate my experiences in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ROUMANIANS IN BUDA-PESTH

PROBABLY no episode of the war needs, or would try, an impartial historian, more than the few months of Roumanian occupation of the Hungarian capital. I must own that I left Buda-Pesth bewildered; and I had wandered about the city alone several times, introducing myself as an American newspaper correspondent, calling on various and most interesting personages, talking with the Hungarians in German, with the Roumanians in French or German, and with Italians and French in their native tongues, so that no interpreter or official companion hampered me in trying to get at the truth—with a strong Roumanian bias, I admit, but anxious to do justice on all sides. I interviewed Premier Friedrich and two of his Ministers, as well as a couple of Hungarian nobles; Director Vészi, of the great German daily the *Pester Lloyd*, who gave me over an hour of his time; Prof. Goldziher, the distinguished Semitic scholar in the University; Dr. Kiss Arnold, the Chief Rabbi; and a host of store-keepers, petty employés, etc. Of the Roumanians, I talked with Gen. Mărdărescu, a bluff old soldier of few words; Col. Diamandi, the Roumanian High Commissioner, who gave me a most painstaking and detailed account of the situation from their point of view; and a score of officers who had made the campaign. I was made welcome at

Italian headquarters, and had pleasant interviews with a number of their officers. Gen. Bandholtz, the American military representative, Col. Yates, the military attaché at Bucharest, who had been for some time at Buda-Pesth, and other Americans gave me their point of view. Capt. Gardner Richardson, Prof. R. H. Lutz, of the University of Washington, and other members of the American Food Commission, as well as some representatives of the American Red Cross, told me their versions of events. I talked also with various British and French officers, German and American business men; and ever since, in Bucharest, Paris, New York, Seattle, I have been gaining new and often still more puzzling impressions. Doubtless few situations have ever combined more complex factors than did Buda-Pesth under the Roumanians. No man there at the moment could appreciate more than a few of them; no historian will ever clear them up fully. It would have been bad enough without the constant meddling of the Paris Conference; and my first experience threw vivid light on the accuracy of the information on which Paris acted.

In Paris, I had talked with a number of my friends in the American Peace Commission; and one of them, in very high position, told me on October 14, 1919, that if I got to Buda-Pesth, I should find that the Roumanians had "left only the paving-stones." I went first to Bucharest, and was impressed with the desolation I saw everywhere; meadows and pastures without cattle, cities without horses, stores with inadequate stocks; I was ready to believe that Czernin spoke the truth when he boasted that the Hungarians

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and Germans had taken 82% of Roumania's cattle, and all available sheep and horses. The thoroughness of the Austro-German spoliation left no sphere untouched. When I first entered my room in one of Bucharest's best hotels, I noticed that on the bed were only two sheets and a blanket—no spread or quilt, though the nights were already cold, and the hotel, from lack of coal, was chilly as the grave. I rang for the chambermaid and asked if I might not have another blanket. "Another blanket!"—and she held up her hands in holy horror. "There are no more blankets. There is only one blanket to a bed in all Bucharest. When the Germans were here, they commandeered all but one blanket; and when they left, they took that one with them for the journey, if they could." I found that even the officers in the Roumanian Army had only one blanket apiece; and Gen. Prezan, the Chief of Staff, told me that although he had a private car, it had no bedding, so that he had to take his blanket off his hotel bed when he left Bucharest on a journey, and bring it back when he returned. This throws light also on the criticism passed on the Roumanians in an American Red Cross report—that in their prison camps, although the nights were cold, their prisoners had only one blanket apiece.

Early on the morning of October 25, I crossed the Theiss River on my way from Bucharest to Buda-Pesth, and as we rolled through the Hungarian plain, I was amazed at what I saw. Every farm-house had huge hay-cocks (I rode over a hundred miles through Wallachia in an automobile and saw only one), abundance of sleek cattle and handsome horses, and

innumerable troops of geese and poultry. From the station in Buda-Pesth I went to the Ritz (Duna Palota), one of their best hotels, and got a beautiful room on the Danube side, with a commodious bath and *hot water* (for six weeks I was without hot water at Bucharest), for 42 crowns (at that time 63 cents; I was paying 25 lei, something under a dollar just then, at Bucharest for a vastly inferior room; Bucharest was considered by the American Red Cross the most expensive city for an American in Europe). I looked at the bed; two heavy fine woolen blankets, a silk spread, a down quilt. I was amused at Mr. Vészi's surprise later when I told him that at Bucharest I was sleeping under one blanket, my bath-robe and my light overcoat, with a suit of clothes on top on specially cold nights; and I couldn't help imagining how the Hungarians would have howled if the Roumanians had requisitioned in Buda-Pesth as they had in Bucharest.

My surprise increased when I sat down to the abundant and excellent luncheon in the hotel dining-room, at prices (in terms of American, French or Roumanian money) about $\frac{2}{3}$ those I had had to pay in Bucharest. Nothing was inferior in quality except the bread, which was darker and full of corn meal. Knowing that Hungary was a good wheat country, I inquired and was told that the Hungarian farmers were holding their wheat for higher prices, and the Roumanians, with great difficulty, were bringing in grain from Transylvania, so as not to have the city starve on their hands.

I had occasion to do some shopping. I supposed that the Reds had cleaned out everything, and had

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just been told in Paris of Roumanian thoroughness; but to my still greater surprise, I found the shops attractive and well patronized, and a far greater stock and variety than in Bucharest. I wanted an umbrella, and found large and luxurious supplies in two stores near my hotel; the one I bought for about \$3 is still doing good service two years later. Strong and handsome silk shirts were on sale at about \$5 apiece (I got 70 crowns for a dollar then). An American friend bought two heavy pig-skin suitcases for about \$15 apiece. I found a Zeiss 8-magnifying field-glass for \$10 and a Voightländer 10-magnifying army service glass for \$27. Currency was so scarce that when I went with the oculist who sold me these to the nearest branch bank, where he did business, and tried to change \$40, it developed that they did not have \$40 in "blue money" in the bank; so they credited him with the equivalent of the \$40 on his account, and he gave me \$3 in crowns. Béla Kun flooded Buda-Pesth with cheap photographic reprints of the Hungarian money, and made people accept them; when I was there, some issues at least of these were no longer current except that the much abused street-cars would take them at face! The "blue money" was the official Hungarian currency, printed off the same plates as in the old days.

Still more surprising was the fact that private individuals could get a little coal, which was also impossible in Bucharest; the Bratianos apologized one day to me for not receiving me in the parlour; they could get no coal, so had shut up all but two rooms downstairs; and he was the ex-Premier and at that moment the power behind the throne! Prof. Gold-

ziher told me that (being an invalid) he had had to have his apartment warmed, and had been able to buy 15 centners ($1\frac{1}{2}$ long tons), for 980 crowns! At pre-war exchange that would have been nearly \$200, and of course college professors' salaries had not risen with the cost of living much more in Hungary than they had in America. Hungary has her own coal-mines; but their output in 1919 was less than half of the 1913 production, and only $\frac{5}{8}$ of that of 1918—the result of labour troubles, shortage of labour, transportation crisis, and lack of wood for the mines. Buda-Pesth stoves burned Prussian coal, which of course came no more. But at any rate they had some coal, and in Bucharest, as in Rome during much of the war, we were dependent on wood.

The art exhibitions, for which Buda-Pesth used to be famous, were going on, and I saw a number of good landscapes and portraits by Hungarian artists. The races were on, and they ran for the Prince of Wales Cup, as of old, while I was there. The theatres and opera houses (not to speak of the cinemas) were going full tilt; for the evening of October 28 I had my choice of "Othello" at the National Theatre; "The Magic Flute" at the National Opera House; "The Thief" at the Comedy; and eight other plays or light operas. When I returned to the hotel at afternoon tea time, I could hardly make my way through the crush of fashionably dressed men and women who crowded the tables or stood about waiting for a vacant one. Everywhere there was evidence of huge amounts of money, and abundance of opportunities for the spending of it.

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Then I visited the markets, to get some idea of the food situation. They were crowded with peasants and buyers; I quote from the current market report of the *Pester Lloyd* (October 27): "In the Garai-Tér (a big public market) the poultry-stalls were over-supplied; buyers were present in great numbers, to be sure, and yet prices for ducks and geese fell ten to twelve crowns per kilo (2.2 lbs.)." Geese were selling at 56 crowns the kilo; a pair of large live fowls, 120-140 crowns; beef, 44-52 per kilo; butter, 120-140; eggs, 5 crowns each; dried beans, 10-12 per kilo. Unskilled labour was getting 8 crowns an hour. Of course it was the professional class who suffered, and the people with small fixed incomes. Editor Vészi looked quizzically at his clothes and said: "This suit has lasted 3 years, and it must do for 2 years more; if I want a new one, it will cost me 3000 crowns; a new pair of shoes would take 1000 crowns." In Bucharest, these prices were still higher.

Imagine after this experience my feelings when one of Friedrich's Ministers had the superb effrontery to tell me, with tears in his voice, that the Roumanians had carried off every ox, every horse, every agricultural instrument in all of occupied Hungary, requisitioning even the seed grain, so that they would inevitably perish next year. This was precisely what they had told several American correspondents (whom they then had personally accompanied about), and had succeeded in getting into our papers and magazines. I felt like telling him that if he expected me to believe that, he should at least have cleared a zone a kilometre wide on each side of the

railway of all the evidence of farm prosperity which I had seen.

There was no difficulty in seeing through that propaganda. A representative of the American Food Commission had reported (from many miles away) that on arriving, the Roumanians had interfered with the milk supply, and caused the death of a number of children. I tried to run this down, and I found that there had been an outbreak of foot and mouth disease in July in the largest dairy farm supplying the city, which had much cut down the milk supply; but the Roumanians showed me affidavits from the heads of all the city hospitals stating that the Roumanians had not interfered in any way with their supplies. This was confirmed by the report of the Interallied Commission (Capt. Will Shafroth, American Mission; Capt. Sairlebout, French Mission; Lieut. Molesworth, English Mission; Lieut. Braccio, Italian Mission), who interviewed the heads of the eight hospitals of Buda-Pesth and reported: "The Roumanian authorities have not at any moment since the occupation of Buda-Pesth by the Roumanian Army taken or requisitioned in the children's hospitals of Buda-Pesth either sanitary material or hospital supplies of any sort. Certain hospitals are now receiving much less in the way of supplies than before the arrival of the Roumanian troops. It is hard to find out the exact reason. The greater part of these medical supplies was furnished Buda-Pesth by Vienna and Berlin. Three hospitals, among them the Maternity Hospital, are receiving at this moment about a third of the quantity of milk which they received in

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the month of July under the Communist régime. This inadequacy is explained to us by the statements of Mr. Louis Gerlei, director of the Central Milk Co., who furnishes the hospitals with milk, as due: (1) to the lack of means of transport; (2) to the quantity of milk which arrives sour and cannot be delivered, on account of the excessive time consumed between the local creameries and his central creamery in Buda-Pesth; (3) the quantity of milk which disappears from the Jozsefvaros station, taken by needy persons and soldiers; (4) the producer prefers to sell his milk to individuals who pay a higher rate than the central creamery."

My photograph of this document (which is in French) bears no date, but it was handed in on September 28 or 29, 1919. The Inter-Allied Council or the Commission of the Four Generals, as it was called, was much annoyed at this report, which (however grudgingly) cut the ground from under the American Food Commission official in Vienna who had given currency to the wicked rumour that the Roumanians were taking milk from the Hungarian babies, and also gave the lie to the reports industriously circulated that the Roumanians were confiscating Hungarian hospital supplies. The Commission at once sent a note to the Roumanians (No. 493, of September 29, signed by the President for the day, General Graziani) expressing their conviction that the Roumanians would immediately speed up transport, and put competent guards at the station of Jozsefvaros. The Roumanians also were greatly disappointed in the report; they contended that the Inter-Allied Commission had seriously misunder-

stood Mr. Gerlei of the Central Creamery, and had suppressed all reference to the ravages of the foot and mouth disease in the herds of Count Karoly Kaposztasmegyer, which were the chief factor in the decreased milk supply. I must say I find the report disingenuous in saying that it was hard to determine the reason for the falling off in receipt of medical supplies; every one in Buda-Pesth knew that toward the end of the Béla Kun campaign, freight traffic with Vienna had practically ceased, and with Berlin was non-existent.

The Roumanians on the other hand were very indignant with the Allied Commission and the Hungarians because they were not allowed to resume possession of their own hospital supplies, carried off by the Hungarians from Roumania and Odessa and still stored in Buda-Pesth. I examined several of these boxes, in one of which was the entire stock of drugs of a country druggist in southern Wallachia, with even his boxes of labels! Their effort to take this property of theirs seems to have been the origin of the story telegraphed in all directions that they were trying to ship away Hungarian hospital supplies. A member of the American Food Commission told me that the Roumanians were seen packing Hungarian Red Cross supplies into boxes with Russian labels. This would seem to be a Hungarian propaganda explanation, a little twisted (the labels were all in Roumanian on the boxes I examined, and stenciled long before), of the Roumanian story. The Roumanians were also bitter because they were not allowed to take a lot of their own historical documents temporarily deposited in the Burg, or

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the objects hastily brought to Buda-Pesth from Transylvania museums by the Hungarians. General Bandholtz boasted that he had personally blocked their efforts to regain their Transylvanian museum property; but I feel sure that if the Germans had taken up to Frankfort from the Strasburg Museum the objects of most interest in early Alsatian history and art, and the French had taken them back to Strasburg on their occupation of Frankfort, public opinion and the War Department would hardly have supported an American general in Frankfort who kept the French away from the museum door; and yet the cases would be exactly alike.

I had much sympathy for General Bandholtz. Convinced from some unfortunate experiences of his that *all* Roumanians are liars, he went ahead on that assumption, and indeed felt very much alone, having the good American lack of confidence in all foreigners except the English. Current report in Buda-Pesth made him the victim of Hungarian deception, and in one instance, in a very amusing manner. Friedrich told me that the Roumanians had made three separate attempts to kidnap him, and that on one occasion he appealed to Bandholtz, whose office was not far away, and that Bandholtz came and kept the Roumanians off for hours. The latter confirmed this. According to report, Friedrich (who, by the way, has been since found guilty of planning the murder of one of his political opponents) had got up the whole attempt himself, and hired these soldiers, in order to intensify the American General's anti-Roumanian feeling. True or false, this story gives a good idea of the atmosphere of the Hun-

garian capital. I brought up Friedrich's kidnapping story with a Roumanian general afterward and he made the obvious rejoinder: "Why, what in the world could we do with Friedrich if we did kidnap him? He would be far more embarrassing to us kidnapped or murdered than where he is, up there on the Burg." And, indeed, when I asked Friedrich what motive the Roumanians had in trying to kidnap him, he shrugged his shoulders, and broke into a declamation that he was risking his life for his country every moment, and fully expected to die at the hand of a Roumanian assassin before his term expired. Hungarians told me he was much more likely to fall victim to a Hungarian revolver.

General Bandholtz was also very much worked up over Roumanian requisitions, and made every effort to stop the requisitioning, as indeed he was directed to do from Paris, which viewed with alarm the subtraction by the Roumanians of so much of the common booty. The Roumanian point of view was that they had been wantonly attacked by the Hungarians; that they had appealed to Paris to furnish troops to stop Béla Kun, or help stop him; that Paris had declined to go beyond warnings to Béla Kun, at which he laughed; and that the war which then broke out was like any other war, and the precautions to be taken after it, such as would naturally follow any war. I have no doubt the Roumanians interpreted liberally the provision of their General Staff that they should requisition all machinery, etc., used in turning out war supplies; but it was hard to get details of any excess. I asked Editor Vészi for instances, and all he could

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bring up was an attempt to take the machinery of a printing plant. Much was made of their taking telephone instruments, type-writers, etc.; but those were the first things confiscated as military necessities by the Hungarians and the Germans when they occupied Bucharest. An attentive study of the Treaty of Versailles will throw much light on what is lawful and proper to take from a defeated enemy.

I found it also impossible to get at the truth in the matter of Roumanian rightful tenure (as viewed from Paris) of Buda-Pesth. Friedrich told me the Roumanians were holding on till the wine should all be made and the crops all in, and that they would go then after confiscating everything they could lay their hands on. Commissioner Diamandi told me they had three times begged Paris to be relieved, so that they could take their army back to Roumania, where the danger from Russia was constant; and three times Paris had told them not to go. General Bandholtz told me he had personally delivered an ultimatum of the Supreme Council to the Roumanians some three weeks before, ordering them to leave at once, and that the High Command had finally told him that for tactical reasons it was impossible to go as yet. The corn doubtless was that the Roumanians would not leave without being replaced by Allied troops, who should hold in check the new White Army, which was being organized in Western Hungary, and which they feared would be more chauvinistic than the Red Army.

I must confess that to a casual visitor there was no sign of Roumanian occupation or interference with the normal city life of Buda-Pesth. The new force

of Hungarian Mounted Police, which Colonel Yates had been training, kept order; and I judged from the newspaper reports that political meetings were going on much as usual. That same Minister of Friedrich's told me that the Roumanians had not allowed three persons to meet together and discuss politics, just after Commissioner Diamandi had informed me that the total number of persons who had gathered in public meetings under the Roumanian administration was 150,000, and that no untoward incident had occurred!

On the constructive side, the Roumanians deserve great praise for what they did in Buda-Pesth. When they entered the city, they found it exhausted by the Red Terror. Editor Vészi told me that for all those 133 days, his wife and he had tasted neither bread, meat nor fresh vegetables. The peasants had no confidence in the Red Régime, and did not bring their produce in. The Roumanians found no communal authority functioning except an improvised so-called Socialist administration, which had very little authority or influence. The children especially of the city were badly undernourished; and although the Roumanians had great difficulty with supplies themselves, they did their best to relieve that situation. They at once authorized the free circulation in Hungary of all agents of the Hungarian Food Administration, some 1200 in number. Orders were sent out to have grain cars take precedence even of military supplies on the railroads. The food captured from the Hungarian Army was put at the disposal of the Hungarian civil authorities. Four daily Buda-Pesth food trains in each direction were put

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on. Over 50 tons of frozen meat, 20 of salt meat, 20 of fresh veal and ten cars of fats, which had been secretly held in the city, were distributed to the people. Orders were issued to begin at once sending 10,000 cars of potatoes from the region east of the Theiss. Fourteen canteens were opened for free distribution of food to women, children and old people. Forty communes about Buda-Pesth were exempted from all army requisitions, so that their food surplus might be shipped into the city. This was all the more necessary in that the population of Buda-Pesth was now two millions, Premier Friedrich assured me, of whom six or seven hundred thousand were fugitive Jews from Galicia and Russia.

I have the detailed report, by regiments, of the number of children fed regularly at the Roumanian soldiers' mess; in Buda-Pesth it amounts to about 4000 definitely checked up, while one or two regiments reported that they fed whoever appeared and begged for food, without keeping track. This means many scores of thousands of rations, from a scanty commissariat. General Prezan told me that the farmers' stock and produce was levied upon only in the strip between the Theiss and the so-called "Clemenceau Line" east of it, and there only 30% was commandeered. General Greenley, the British observer with the Roumanian troops, reported that the Roumanians behaved at least as well as a British army of occupation would have. Rabbi Arnold said in so many words that he thought the Hungarian people had little to complain of at the hands of the Roumanians. Of course, the Jews in Buda-Pesth

were very grateful to the Roumanians for maintaining perfect order and thus preventing the savage reprisals which would otherwise have followed the Béla Kun régime (in which Jews had been so prominent) and which apparently did follow the withdrawal of the Roumanians; this I judge from the reports of the American Hungarian Jews on the violent anti-Semitism of the Horthy régime, and from the petition to the Peace Conference of January, 1920, signed by over a hundred thousand Jews of Buda-Pesth, begging the Conference to ask the Roumanians to reoccupy Buda-Pesth.

Since the Roumanians left Buda-Pesth, the Hungarian accusations against them have largely consisted in a repetition of the charge that the Roumanians commandeered all but 27 of their locomotives, and in religious propaganda, which has a venerable history in Transylvania, as we have seen. I saw many more than 27 locomotives in Hungary myself; and General Prezan, Chief of Staff, told me that he took British advice to determine how many locomotives the Hungarians needed on their State Railways for ordinary commercial purposes; that the English authorities said they thought 2000 would be sufficient; and that he left them 2300. General Bandholtz' explanation of such discrepancies was that both sides were prevaricating, but that the chief trouble was lack of discipline in the Roumanian Army, so that the excellent orders given by those in authority were not carried out by their inferiors; that the infraction of such orders was even winked at, in case the Hungarians were the sufferers. There may well have been isolated cases to support his

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thesis; but I feel sure a general accusation of lack of discipline in the Roumanian Army is absurd. I heard complaints in Roumania, as in Italy, France and England, that the quality especially of the lower grades of officers had deteriorated in consequence of the length of the war and the death of so many thousand of the best of their young men; but the general impression I derived of Roumanian Army discipline was that it was what would be expected from officers trained mainly in Germany, then drilled by the French, and chastened by years of war experience. I think we may leave that question to Mackensen and Béla Kun!

We have seen the prejudice that existed against the Roumanians among their allies in Buda-Pesth, and the lack of foundation of the mischievous rumour that they had interfered with the Buda-Pesth milk supply. My Buda-Pesth experience gave me an opportunity also of sounding the prejudice that prevailed in Paris. I have narrated my astonishment at the condition of things in the Hungarian capital, so different from that indicated by my friend on the American Peace Commission, who had told me I should find only the paving-stones. He is a just and honourable man, highly thought of by all his associates, and by the Roumanians who plead their cause with him. He had based his impression on the reports that had come in to Paris. My own acquaintance with Italian politics had given me some idea of the worthlessness of most of the confidential reports about conditions in Italy sent in to and swallowed by the American Peace Commission—about as trustworthy as those sent in to Berlin in

1914 about conditions in Great Britain. I had just convinced myself by inspection that the reports from Buda-Pesth were equally exaggerated and partial. I wrote him a letter from Bucharest after my return there in November, giving him my impressions, and enclosing the market report of October 27 from the *Pester Lloyd*. He replied to me from Paris under date of November 18: "I received your letter describing your visit to Buda-Pesth, and read it with much interest. If the Roumanians have done so little to the country, it is unfortunate that they will not permit the Inter-Allied Commission to look into this question. They have recently sent a note in which they cleverly sidestep the suggestion made that the requisition question should be examined by a joint commission on which they would be represented." (Of course the Roumanian position was that after the Allies had failed to restrain Béla Kun, had failed to help the Roumanians, and had failed to send troops to replace their troops in policing Hungary, it was a piece of pure impertinence in the Allies to propose to take a hand in the disposal of the spoils. This seemed "clever" at Paris, as well as presumptuous. Were not the Roumanians one of the small nations, whose business was to be seen but not heard, and facilitate Franco-British commercial penetration in place of German?)

The letter continues: "I don't think it is safe to judge conditions from what one sees out of a railroad carriage as they tell me even in Poland and Austria, where we know the conditions are desperate, everything looks normal from a car window. I think you would be really interested in learning the

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real situation by getting the figures from our Army people. You will find that the Roumanians helped themselves rather liberally to cattle and foodstuffs. On that one point, all the Allied representatives seem to agree.

"When I make these suggestions, I am really doing it so the Roumanians will know what the truth is, as I am informed that they are kept more or less in ignorance of the truth and are undoubtedly ignorant of the position taken by the Allies in their case.

"In this connection, for my own satisfaction, I would like to know the truth of the stories in regard to the treatment of the prisoners by the Roumanians. A commission composed of an American officer, an Italian, and a Red Cross official, made an investigation and their report was rather savage.

"I am not at all unsympathetic with the Roumanians or their point of view, but it is perfectly hopeless for them to think that they can try to row in the boat with other powers and set their own stroke, particularly as there happens to be some one near the bow of the boat. The American officers we have there are very high-class men and I cannot believe that they, not to mention all the other officers, have it entirely wrong, particularly when what they have said has been borne out by Hoover's people and the railroad people. The Roumanians are charming and clever people and tell a very convincing story, unless one happens to be on the other side of the fence and has had some experience with them."

This is a good example of the state of mind induced at Paris in an honourable man who is exas-

perated at the waywardness of these Roumanians, and has a quantity of exaggerated reports at his elbow. He does not even mention the market report, from which I quote on page 263, but dismisses that as a thing seen from a car window. The best-known Hoover report at Paris on things Roumanian—the one I heard on all sides there—was the one from Vienna about Roumanian interference with the milk supply which I have shown to be baseless. I was able to send my friend immediately a Red Cross report just made out in Bucharest on the treatment of the prisoners. It criticized shortage of beds, bed-linen, blankets, drugs and screens (all things unobtainable even for army officers at the moment in Bucharest), and gave some particular instances of neglect, but pronounced the food palatable and sufficient in quantity. I saw many groups of prisoners in Roumania, and they gave no impression of being ill-treated. Undoubtedly they suffered from the frightful dearth of food and materials which afflicted Roumania during the terrible winter after the close of the war, when transportation was almost entirely crippled.

In fine, the Roumanians occupied the capital of Hungary, and most of the country, for some fourteen or fifteen weeks in a critical period, after a Communistic experiment which had been disastrous. Their occupation was marked by no serious disorders, at a time when to keep order was in itself an achievement; by an improvement of the public health (deaths in Buda-Pesth in August, 1919, 1420, as compared with 1553 in July, and 1764 in August, 1918); by non-interference in Hungarian politics and in the

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intrigues directed from Paris (Mr. Vészi said that he complained only of the stupidity and bad judgment of some of the Roumanian censors, but that he thought, considering the circumstances, that the censorship itself was not unreasonable); by a protecting attitude toward the Jews; and by commandeering which (whether one agree with General Greenley or General Bandholtz) was infinitely mild compared with the stripping of Roumania by the Hungarians and their allies.

As a pleasant example of the amenities of a career in which one picks up the cudgels for unpopular nationalities, I close this chapter with a letter from a Hungarian classical scholar which I think surpasses all its fellows in my collection. It is also a good example of the Magyar attitude which the Roumanians have had to meet.

March 31st, 1920.

Dear Sir:—

During all the years of wars and international strife, when so many articles, letters, lectures, &c., have kept up racial hatred, prejudices, I have never answered one, and bore with contempt the malicious ignorance displayed; but when a man attacks the Hungarians in behalf of the Vlachs, and that man professes to be a *Classical Scholar*, I must make an exception, and if I do not write in the same daily, the N. Y. Evening Post, but a private letter, it is because I prefer to leave that matter to some other Hungarian, who may have accidentally read it.

You protest against Dr. Drummond's report. What written documents authorize you to do so? What is your authority? You were there in November. Hungarians have been there for a thousand years. Dr. Drummond is acting

for the British and American Unitarians; you are acting for your own *illustrated lectures*' scheme.

You find fault with the Hungarians because they have fought on the German side. On whose side ought they have to fight? There were only two sides, their own, and the Serbians or Srbs, on the other. Advise me on this. You are angry because the Hungarians keep plotting against their new lords, put upon them by foreign powers, for the mere asking. Suppose you were put under the rule of Mexican half-breeds, and you dared plot to get rid of them. Or do you maintain that your new friends, the *Blacoi* (singular *blax*), are qualified to rule over Hungarians? Why do you side with the Germans, whom you pretend to hate? Or are you writing from sheer ignorance? I know too well that in Latin you have no information that you do not get from Germans; but when you write about Hungary, why do you Germanize? What are *Klausenburg* and *Cluj*? If you were a Latinist, or were an educated man, you would know that the name of that city was, and still is *Kolozsvár*, which is the Hungarian rendering of *Claudiopolis*; while the German spite-name is ignorant, being derived from *nicolaus*. Your *Cluj* is a Slav, *not a Vlach word*. That the German nickname of Nagyvárad is Grosswardein, I know; but if you think that *Oradia Mare* is its equivalent, you again betray a bottomless ignorance. They mean to say *Greater Arad*. Now this thing has a very long history, leading us back to the 8th century, long before the Hungarians moved into Hungary, and to understand which, you would have to know something about the *cozri* or *Cozarim*. *A mighty study*, a charming piece of history, of which you have never heard, and thus utterly illiterate to mix up with these *Shemitico-Touranian studies*. You know nothing about *the Banat*. This is the German, for the Latin *Banatus*, of the educated Hungarians. And this has a history, of which you are ignorant.

I wonder, whether the *Blacoi*, your friends, will also

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blachicise the other ancient names, like *Bihar*, *Calna*, *Zoar*, *Arpad*, *Bela*, and the rest of which there are many in Hungary, all occurring in the Old Testament, or are names in Palaestine, and not borrowed by Hungarians, as are Syracuse, Rome, Athens in America; but whose origin is involved in the origin of the Hungarian race itself, as is the very foundations of the Hungarian grammar and word-treasure. I would expect that an educated man would find in these mysteries a greater charm and incentive to study, than the unworthy, blind course you are following, like an uneducated mechanic, without the instincts of a scholar.

Since you want to lecture about your Blacoi, of whom I feel sure you know nothing, I would suggest, that you look up the word $\beta\lambda\alpha\epsilon$ in your Greek dictionary, and then, as a proper name in the Byzantine writers, if you can read Greek, or at least Latin, for Theophilactus Simocatta, Chalcocondylas, Jornandes (the Jordanes of the Germans) are all translated into Latin, and can be found in great libraries. Those authors will give you a true history of your friends, not inspired by the wicked Hungarians, whose history you have never read, though there is one written by the Jesuit Katona, in Latin, in 42 volumes, and by many other learned authors in Latin, Hungarian and German. As a Latinist you ought also to know that Hungarian is the only modern language still using Greek and Roman quantity and prosody in its poetry, and the scansion, which I find entirely unknown in this country, you may hear from a classically trained Hungarian, and, if you cared to call on me when in the City, I shall be glad to sing for you not only the hexameters, but also the elegiac, Alcaic, Asclepiadic, Sapphic, Pherecratic, all forms. These are far worthier studies for an educated man and scholar, than the trivial, hollow, mendacious dupery you are proposing to lecture about.

Should my language appear to you too harsh, attribute it to your uncalled for attack on my nationality, a scholarly and highly civilized race with a thousand years' history; the oldest

constitutional monarchy in the world, the maintainance of which in the midst of all the surrounding groups of fragments of barbarians ought to be credit enough to merit the friendship and admiration of the educated element of all nations.

Respectfully,

CHAPTER XX

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND ROUMANIA

IT had rankled in the minds of Roumanian statesmen that at the Peace Conference of Berlin in 1878, they had been relegated to an inferior status, and had not even been listened to until after decisions had been made which affected them vitally. They were furthermore constantly nettled because the western world regarded them (with more or less reason, too, until the land reforms of our day) as a government of great land-owners, reactionary and anti-Semitic in internal matters, and imperialistic and unscrupulous in foreign affairs. Consequently, when they entered the war on the side of the Allies, they stipulated in the treaty that at the Peace Conference afterwards, they should be treated as equals. Much of the friction at Paris might have been avoided if this stipulation—demanded besides by common courtesy—had been remembered by the "Big Four." It will doubtless be impossible for years to get at the truth of the relations between Roumania and the Conference; but it is clear that the mistakes made by the "Big Four" in dealing with the Roumanian situation were among their most serious ones, and resulted in enormous loss of prestige, especially in Eastern Europe.

Those who knew the inner gossip of the Confer-

ence affirm that Clemenceau and his *alter ego*, Mendel, were anti-Roumanian from the start; that Lloyd George was completely ignorant of the facts necessary for the formation of a judgment; and that President Wilson and General Bliss, while equally ignorant of the Roumanian situation, had no difficulty in forming anti-Roumanian prejudices deeper than their anti-Italian ones. Mr. Wilson's idea of how to handle the Roumanian situation was analogous to his procedure in the case of Italy. There, the American influence at Paris was thrown openly against the Orlando Ministry, in the hope of electing another that would be, from the Conference point of view, easier to deal with. In the case of Roumania, a similar programme was outlined, which should eliminate the obnoxious Bratiano and bring into power a ministry which would be more pliant. Immense pressure is also alleged to have been brought to bear on the American delegation, to secure civic equality (or even special privileges, as it developed) for the Jews in Roumania. Furthermore, the enthusiastic group of young American college professors who advised the American delegation, hardly one of whom knew Roumania even from casual travel, and no one of whom had ever resided there, were determined to settle the Roumanian problem strictly in accordance with the dictates of historians and geographers, no one of whom also knew the country from long residence. I cannot resist telling the anecdote related to me by my late friend, Count Macchi di Cellere, Italian Ambassador to the United States. He told me, in September, 1919, that when he went to Europe on the *George Wash-*

ington with President Wilson's party, he thought it unbecoming an ambassador to discuss the problems shortly to be attacked by the Peace Conference. One day, however, he was drawn into an argument over one of the Adriatic problems with one of the historical experts accompanying our Peace Commission—gentlemen whom a facetious friend of mine now on the Cornell Faculty has dubbed the "experteers." Count Macchi di Cellere made some observation which this expert construed as a reflection on his knowledge of the elements of this particular problem. "Sir," said he, "I would have you know that for the past six months I have done nothing but study Adriatic problems." "Professor," replied the Ambassador, "the blood in my veins has been struggling with those problems for the past three thousand years."

Roumania's case, therefore, was handicapped by numerous factors; a personal prejudice of Clemenceau's against Bratiano, which seems to have been communicated to other delegates; a general feeling that Roumania was a backward Balkan country, where the peasants and the Jews were exploited by a political gang of wealthy land-owners and concessionaires; a remarkable sympathy with Hungary, and some on the part of the Americans with Bulgaria; and a determination to cancel the secret treaty and lay out the new boundaries without reference to strategic considerations (useless, in view of the League of Nations) or historic claims, or even commercial ties, but with regard to ethnology and linguistics alone.

Friction between the Conference and Roumania

was due chiefly to two episodes; the Béla Kun attack on Roumania and her occupation of Buda-Pesth, and Roumania's refusal to sign the Minorities Treaty. In a separate chapter I discuss the Béla Kun campaign; and my own observations in the captured Hungarian capital threw lurid light, to me, on the whole Magyar-Roumanian situation. It remains here to summarize the activity of the Conference during this period, and to point out why the Roumanians resisted—a resistance which Take Jonesco counted against Bratiano as a political blunder of the first magnitude, but which was continued by his own ministry in August-September, 1920, in the Roumanian refusal to accept the division of the German reparation payments among the Allies.

As yet, unfortunately, we are without trustworthy documents to refer to, in connection with the Paris Conference. Dr. Edward J. Dillon's "Inside Story of the Peace Conference" is too antagonistic and controversial to be a safe guide; but it is fuller than any other source, and Dr. Dillon, the Cassandra of our generation, is undoubtedly correct in many of his main contentions. Till the minutes of the Conference are published, which will doubtless soon occur under the new order, we are forced to use Dr. Dillon's book as an authority.

At the outset, Roumania's representatives discovered that the Great Powers had no intention of honouring the treaty pledge that Roumania was to be treated as on an equality (presumably with Italy, which had come into the war with a similar treaty). Their initial mistake was in giving Roumania only

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two representatives, whereas Belgium and Jugo-Slavia were assigned three, although Roumania was a much larger state, and had a smaller proportion of former enemy subjects than Jugo-Slavia. Mr. Bratiano is certainly among the foremost statesmen of our generation; nevertheless he and the other Roumanians at the Conference were systematically neglected. They were not given copies of the Treaty of Versailles till after mere correspondents had obtained them, and were not allowed to see the Treaty of St. Germain till summoned to write their names on the dotted line. As the Great Powers had discovered that Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia and Greece had made in the spring of 1919 a tentative agreement to act in concert and thus avoid being altogether crushed by the French-British-American combination, they assigned consecutive hours to the representatives of these states for the signing, so that there would be no chance for a meeting and a collective protest.

Such despotic methods, worse even than those of the Treaty of Berlin, could only be tolerated if inspired by a high degree of knowledge of conditions. Unfortunately, this was lacking. Only that knowledge could give a criterion for action; and the whole Béla Kun episode, as well as the final back-down of the Supreme Council on the obnoxious provisions of the Minorities Treaty, shows how poorly informed or how misguided were the leaders of the Conference. Dr. Dillon's charges (page 213) that financial concessions, particularly in connection with petroleum, were demanded of the Roumanians as the price for what they considered their rights, were

repeated to me in some detail in Roumania, but are in the nature of things almost impossible to verify. There can, however, be no doubt that all manner of financial pressure was brought to bear on Roumania to induce her to sign the treaty, just as with Italy in the Adriatic controversy.

Peculiarly striking was the attitude of the Conference toward the Jewish question in Roumania. Some American Roumanian Jews, who treasured resentment against the Roumanian Government for the discrimination of which they had been the victims years before, brought up the question in the spring of 1919, and enlisted, it is said, very powerful financial interests on their side. Bratiano's government had, however, already drafted legislation giving both Jews and peasants the civil rights they had lacked in the past in all Eastern Europe; and the Roumanian delegates felt that under these circumstances it would be graceful and symbolic for them to propose universal religious tolerance, as a tangible fruit of the Paris Conference. The famous Article 21 of the original Covenant of the League of Nations, which the Roumanians had hoped would solve their problems, with those of all the others, ran: "The High Contracting Parties agree in declaring that no obstacle shall interfere with the free exercise of every belief, religion or opinion whose practice is not incompatible with public order and morals, and that in their respective jurisdictions no one shall be disturbed in his life, liberty or pursuit of happiness by reason of his adherence to such a belief, religion or opinion." They supposed that in proposing this they were merely seconding the desires of the Amer-

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ican Delegation; but when Clemenceau sent them to see Colonel House, he admitted that an embarrassing situation had arisen, and advised them to see President Wilson, who told them that unfortunately nothing could be done for the moment. Roumania's generous desires, embodied in the law of June, 1919, were too advanced for the Conference. The British Constitution forbade a Roman Catholic to become sovereign or Chief Justice. The French Republic and the Kingdom of Italy were not on cordial terms with the Vatican. Every one knows that a Catholic, a Jew or a Mohammedan could never be elected President of the United States, even if not specifically excluded. But what definitely killed Roumania's enlightened proposal was a clever move on the part of the Japanese delegates. They saw an opportunity to secure a pronouncement for equality of races, as a corollary of the decree of religious tolerance; and the American representatives, who had no hesitation in condemning Roumanian discrimination against the Jews, were suddenly confronted with the moral obligation to urge the repeal of the "grandfather clauses" of the Southern States, and of the anti-Japanese legislation of the Pacific Slope. The Conference could of course through the League abolish war; but racial discrimination in the United States was beyond its jurisdiction; and the American opposition forced the Roumanians to withdraw their proposal.

Roumania's attitude, backed up as it was by the new law giving Jews the vote, did not, however, satisfy the Conference. They insisted that Roumania should sign the special Minorities Treaty, together

with Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia. Powerful financial groups which desired to take advantage of the economic clauses of the treaty, aided the movement, as did the idealists of the west. Poland and Czecho-Slovakia signed without much ado, and their representatives made no bones of their feeling that their signatures had been secured under duress. Jugo-Slavia and Roumania held out for months, and Roumania was able to secure essential changes in the document. I stress this fact because a false impression has arisen, due to the publication of the treaty *as finally signed*. To understand the Roumanian attitude, one must study the treaty as it was set before them. Here it is; my copy is headed 6^e Epreuve (6th proof), 8 août 1919. Whatever may have been the case with the Treaty of Versailles, this treaty was clearly first drafted in French, for the English is translation English, with occasional errors. My copy has French and English on opposite pages; I transcribe the English:

"DRAFT OF A TREATY

Between

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, GREAT
BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY, AND JAPAN, De-
scribed as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers,

On the other hand;

And ROUMANIA,

On the one hand;

Whereas under Treaties to which the principal Allied and Associated Powers are parties large accessions of territory are being and will be made to the Kingdom of Roumania, and

Whereas in the Treaty of Berlin the independence of the

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Kingdom of Roumania was only recognised subject to certain conditions, and

Whereas the principal Allied and Associated Powers now desire to recognise unconditionally the independence of the Kingdom of Roumania as regards both its former and its new territories, and

Whereas Roumania is desires (sic) of its own free will to give full guarantees of liberty and justice to all inhabitants both of the old Kingdom of Roumania and of the territory added thereto, to whatever race or religion they may belong.

For this purpose the following Representatives of the High Contracting Parties:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA, THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY, H. M. THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ROUMANIA.

After having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

The Allied and Associated Powers, signatories to the Treaty of Berlin, of the 13th July 1878, taking into consideration the obligations contracted under the present Treaty by the Roumanian Government, recognise that Roumania is definitely discharged from the conditions attached to the recognition of its independance (sic) by Article 44 of the said Treaty of Berlin."

This preamble was one of the chief stumbling-blocks in the treaty. Roumania having been a sovereign state in Europe for a generation, why in the world should the Treaty of Berlin be exhumed—

particularly as neither Europe nor America considers that a model treaty? Evidently it was only an ingenious legal pretext for justifying the minorities clauses of the new treaty. Roumania promised to give the Jews full civil rights in the Treaty of Berlin, and never had; ergo, we have a legal hold on Roumania, for that was one of the conditions of her independence, and she has never fulfilled it. And which of the Associated Powers signed the Treaty of Berlin, America or Japan? I am glad to say that Roumanian opposition finally deleted this preamble.

“CHAPTER I

ARTICLE I

Roumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this chapter shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no laws, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2

Roumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Roumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Roumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals (Fr. les bonnes mœurs).

ARTICLE 3

Roumania admits and declares to be Roumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality, all

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persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole territory of Roumania, including the extensions made by the Treaties of Peace with Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, who are not at that date nationals of any other foreign state except Anstrias (sic), Hungary and Bulgaria.

Nevertheless, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian nationals who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt (sic) for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, except where it is otherwise provided in the Treaty of Peace with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, transfer within the succeeding twelve months, their place of residence to the State for wich (sic) they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Roumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4

Roumania admits and declares to be Roumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian nationality who were born in the territory ceded to Roumania by the treaties of Peace with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Roumanian authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Rou-

manian nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Roumanian nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

ARTICLE 5

Roumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Austria, Hungary or Bulgaria, to choose whether or not they will acquire Roumanian nationality.

ARTICLE 6

All persons born in Roumanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Roumanian nationals.

ARTICLE 7

All Roumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Roumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise (sic) of professions and industries.

No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Roumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Roumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Roumanian nationals of non-Roumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

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ARTICLE 8

Roumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Roumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9

Roumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals of other than Roumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Roumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Roumanian Government from making the teaching of the Roumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

ARTICLE 10

Educational Committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Roumania, will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organisation and management of these schools.

The provisions of Article 9 concerning the use of languages in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11

Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision however shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Roumanian citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defence or the preservation of public order.

Roumania declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12

Roumania agrees of (sic) accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czecklers (sic) in Transylvania local autonomy in regard of scholastic and religious matters, under the control of the Roumanian State.

ARTICLE 13

Roumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Roumania agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the at-

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tention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Roumania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Roumanian Government and any one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or any other Power, a Member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Roumanian Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant."

The Roumanian feeling was that (however admirable these provisions might appear theoretically) this chapter intermeddled rather more in the internal affairs of a friendly state than was quite warrantable. What would have been our reply in the United States if Allies to whom we owed huge sums of money should insist that we incorporate into our fundamental law provisions that, e. g., Pennsylvania Dutch, New England French Canadians, and New Mexico Spaniards must always have primary schools in their own vernacular at public expense; that we must never prohibit the use of German or Russian in publications or meetings; that Jewish confessional schools should not merely be maintained at public expense but that their control should be taken out of the local school superintendent's hands and lodged

in those of a local Jewish committee; that we must promise never to hold elections or even registration on Saturday; that our law courts might never summon a Jew to testify on Saturday; or that any German or Russian who thought that his rights were *likely to be* infringed could complain to any member of the Council of the League of Nations, and we should have to stand trial? What should we have done if informed that we could have no more credit, could not even have the supplies in our Allies' harbours already bought and paid for, unless we swallowed all this just as it stood? But let us pursue the Treaty further:

“ CHAPTER II

ARTICLE 14

Roumania undertakes to make no Treaty, Convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general Convention for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Roumania also undertakes to extend to all the Allied and Associated Powers any favours or privileges in Customs matters, which it may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which since August 1914 the Allied and Associated Powers have been at war or to any State which in virtue of Article 6 of Part X of the Treaty of Austria has special Customs arrangements with such States.

ARTICLE 15

Pending the conclusion of the general convention referred to above, Roumania undertakes to treat on the same footing

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as national vessels or vessels of the most favoured nation the vessels of all the Allied and Associated Powers which accord similar treatment to Roumanian vessels. As an exception from this provision, the right of Roumania or of any other Allied or Associated Power to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 16

Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Roumania undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit to or from any Allied or Associated State over Roumanian territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favourably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails respectively of Roumanian or of any other more favoured nationality, origin, importation or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Roumania on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties.

Tariffs for transit across Roumania and tariffs between Roumania and any Allied or Associated Power involving through tickets or waybills shall be established at the request of the Allied or Associated Power concerned.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic and telephonic services.

Provided that no Allied or Associated Power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded in respect of the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of this Treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations,

Roumania shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate the obligations of the present Article.

ARTICLE 17

Pending the conclusion of a general Convention on the international Régime of Waterways, Roumania undertakes to apply to such portions of the River System of the Pruth as may lie within, or form the boundary of, her territory, the régime set out in the first paragraph of Article 332 and in Articles 333-338 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 18

All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the Allied and Associated Powers shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

THE PRESENT TREATY, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace with Austria (sic).

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at Versailles, in a single copy which will remain de-

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posited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the Signatory Powers."

Here again one must ask: how would the United States have regarded a demand that we have "reasonable" freight charges for freight in transit across the country, outsiders to be the judges, and otherwise surrender our rate-making power to an international commission?

It will now be clear, I hope, why the Roumanian delegation at Paris fought so steadfastly against signing the treaty in the form in which it was set before them. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Peace Conference, on May 31, 1919, was devoted to the objections to this treaty raised in various quarters. I use a copy of the official French minutes. Bratiano handed in a written memorandum; when he rose to speak, Clemenceau remarked that this memorandum had been in his hands only three minutes; whereupon Bratiano rejoined that the treaty itself had been in his less than 24 hours! Annex A of this memorandum deals with the Bucovina; Annex B repeated what Bratiano had previously written to Berthelot, that Roumania had now assured complete equality of rights and liberties, political and religious, to all her citizens, without distinction of race or confession. "She considers as a Roumanian citizen every person born in Roumania and not a foreign subject, as well as every inhabitant of the territories recently united with Roumania who was a subject of the governments formerly in possession of those territories, except as they may declare their preference for an-

other citizenship." Roumania, the annex states, had favoured the guarantees proposed for all the countries included in the League of Nations, but objected strongly to any discrimination, and pointed out the danger that certain minorities, unduly favoured by outside help, would become a superclass of citizens, depending not on their own government, but on some external force. Roumania "cannot subscribe to stipulations limiting her rights as a sovereign state, . . . or brook a special régime, to which other sovereign states are not subject. That is why she declares herself ready to insert in the treaty draft . . . 'Roumania grants to all the minorities, linguistic, racial or religious, dwelling within her new boundaries, rights equal to those belonging to the other citizens.'"

Annex C took the same position with regard to the sections of the treaty which, Roumania thought, infringed her independence in the matter of freight rates, etc. Roumania expressed herself as willing to accept all regulations of these matters which the League of Nations might be willing to establish for *all* countries. In Annex D Roumania stated her willingness to subscribe to the Treaty with Austria, with reserves as indicated, but warned the Conference that it must not assume that she would acquiesce in similar fashion in the treaties with the other enemy states.

In his comment on Bratiano's objections, Clemenceau remarked: "As regards minority rights, I am very happy to know that Mr. Bratiano thinks precisely as do we all. The question is to know whether, by reason of the historic past of certain

peoples, it may be necessary to give, I won't say supplementary guarantees, but guarantees of a more complete order, which may be recognized as necessary. That is a question on which we shall have to take sides. I beg Mr. Bratiano and all those who may have observations of the same nature to present, to be fully assured that there is no thought of humiliating anybody, of treading on the sovereign rights of any nation whatsoever, but that, to tell the truth, the history of the whole world, with respect to minorities, is not altogether the same. There are in this regard distinctions so necessary that we wish to humiliate no one in proposing a right of control at the hands of foreign governments, as Mr. Bratiano phrases it in his text, but by the League of Nations, of which we are accepting the control over ourselves under the conditions which have been indicated by Mr. Bratiano. So there can be no question here of humiliating any one, or of treading on any one's sovereignty."

Bratiano soon took exception to various statements of Clemenceau's, noting particularly that Clemenceau's allusion to the League of Nations as the controlling agent was not borne out by Bratiano's draft, which mentioned the principal Allied and Associated Powers as the agent—"the dispositions which these powers judge necessary to protect in Roumania the interests, etc." "So," he continued, "as I was just saying, it is the Great Powers who intervene to assure minority rights within the Kingdom of Roumania. It is against that principle that I have proposed a modification, because Roumania was an independent country before the war, and I do not

think that her attitude during the war can in any way have justified a surrender of this political independence."

"It is not my business," replied Clemenceau, "to judge Roumania's attitude. I admit that Mr. Bratiano's remark with regard to protection by the Governments instead of by the League of Nations, conforms with the text which has been under discussion. Granting that, my observations remain, and I do not think that it is humiliating for Roumania to receive the friendly counsels given by the United States of America, Great Britain, Italy, France. I have simply told him that historical traditions have perpetuated themselves in certain countries, that rectifications based on these traditions have long been demanded, even in other treaties of which Mr. Bratiano is not without knowledge, and that they could not be secured. Under these conditions, the text of which he complains, and of which I think that the other Slav (!) states will not complain, is rather an encouragement and a support. We should like to see our friendly activity interpreted in the sense I have sketched and not that which he has chosen to give it—wrongly, I feel."

In reply, Bratiano observed that one of the prime purposes of the Conference had been to establish equal rights for states large and small, and to make rulings which should serve henceforward as principles and precedents. "Among these rulings I call your attention to one tending to establish to-day different classes, as regards state sovereignty. In the name of Roumania, I cannot admit this principle. It is not a question of friendly counsels here,

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but of a contractual agreement. The Roumanian Government will always be disposed to accept the counsels of its great friends. But counsels inscribed in treaties, under the form of precise engagements of one government to another, no longer have this purely friendly character. History provides us with precedents in this matter. Thus, the Russians intervened in the policy of Turkey, to protect the Christians, and the result for Turkey was inevitably her dissolution. In appearance, the action was sympathetic, but it had no logic unless it had as final purpose the independence of the Christian peoples. With any other end in view, it is not possible to admit such action, either in the interest of the states involved, or the minorities. . . . We wish, with you, to build a new world to take the place of the old one. This new world should be so established that the states may find in their citizens devoted sons, and a life of brotherly agreement. If the minorities know that the liberties which they enjoy are guaranteed them not by the solicitude of the state to which they belong, but by the protection of some foreign government, whatever it may be, the base of the state will be undermined. . . . It is in the name, gentlemen, not only of the independence of the Roumanian state, but in the name of two great principles which this Conference represents, that I have formulated these observations. One of these deals with peace, order and fraternity between the various peoples of one and the same state, the other looks to the equality of all states, large and small, with reference to their rights of home legislation. That is why I ask, in the name of Roumania, that condi-

tions be not imposed on her which she cannot accept."

After a promise by Clemenceau that Bratiano's observations would be submitted to a new examination by the Heads of Governments, Paderewski for Poland, Kramarsch for Czecho-Slovakia and Trumbitch for Jugo-Slavia, were heard; then President Wilson took the floor. He would deeply regret, he said, a breaking-up of the session with the fixed idea in any one's mind that the Great Powers were bent on imposing their will on the Lesser Powers in a spirit of authority and pride. "We wish," he said, "to ensure world peace, and to force all factors that might disturb and endanger the future, to disappear. One of the essential conditions for this is an equitable distribution of territory according to the affinities and desires of the inhabitants. Having secured that, the Allied and Associated Powers will guarantee the maintenance of the terms (as just as possible) which we shall have reached. It is they who will undertake the engagement and the burden, it must be on them that the responsibility will chiefly fall, just as it is they who in the nature of things have made the most considerable effort during the war, and we must not forget that it is force which is the final guarantee of public peace. Under these conditions is it unfair that, speaking not as dictators but as counsellors and friends, they should say to you: We cannot guarantee your boundaries if we do not believe that they satisfy certain principles of right? . . . The same reasoning applies to the minorities question. It is with the same solicitude that the statute regarding minorities was mentioned.

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If you wish the principal Allied and Associated Powers to guarantee the very existence of governments, is it unfair that they should require satisfaction with regard to the conditions which they consider indispensable for the avoidance of future causes of war? We ask our friends of Serbia and Roumania to believe that we have no intention this afternoon of dealing any blow to long-established and universally recognized governments; but to the territories that these long-established governments are to recover, the present Peace Treaty will add much. It is impossible, for instance, on the one hand to treat the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a unit, in consequence of the events which we have witnessed, and on the other to treat as a state apart in certain respects, the Kingdom of Serbia. If these states are formally established, thanks to the treaty which we are making together, those who in the last analysis will guarantee its execution have the right to see to it that the conditions on which these states are to be definitively established, shall be such as to ensure public peace. Our desire in this is not to intervene in such a way as to annoy these states in any respect, but to help them and to help the common cause. We hope that you will not hesitate to accept our point of view, for we see no other way to regulate this question.

“How could the Government of the United States, if it believed that the regulations agreed upon contained unstable and dangerous elements, present itself before Congress, before the American people, and claim that it had helped in ensuring world peace? If the world should again find itself disturbed, if

the conditions which we all consider fundamental should again be called in question, the guarantee given you means that the United States will send their army and their fleet to this side of the ocean. Is it surprising that under these conditions, they wish to act so that the regulations of the various problems may seem to them entirely satisfactory? I would say in particular to Mr. Bratiano that we have not the faintest desire to tread on the sovereignty of his country, that we wish to do nothing that may displease him. Roumania will issue from this war great and powerful, with increases of territory due to the common effort and to the strength of our arms. We have then the right to insist on certain conditions which to our mind will make this success final. I beg my friend Mr. Bratiano, my friend Mr. Kramarsch, my friend Mr. Trumbitch, to believe that if, in the section just discussed, we made mention only of the Great Powers, it was not because they wish to impose their conditions, but simply because they wish to assure themselves that they can guarantee with all their available strength the sum total of the advantages which this treaty confers on you as it does on us. The point is, we must work together, and this co-operation can only be based on harmony. To leave the solution of these questions to further negotiations, as has been suggested, would mean that when this Conference has finished its labours, separate groups would decide among themselves what ought in reality to form part of the general basis for world peace. That seems impossible. I hope that we shall arrive—that is our purpose—at a cordial and voluntary

co-operation on the only possible basis. That basis must be so expressed: it is where force resides (*du côté de la force*) that the maintenance of peace will be ensured; it is where force resides that the supreme guarantee of this peace will rest. You must not err in the meaning which we ascribe to the word 'force.' The United States have never had any aggressive intentions, and you know the motive of their intervention in the affairs of the Old World. We are pursuing a common goal; all that we wish is to help you reach that goal, in concert with us; our only wish is to associate ourselves with you, and we wish to do nothing that may be opposed to your real interests."

"President Wilson's lofty personality," replied Bratiano, "gives all his words and counsels a specially authoritative character. I would permit myself, in the name of the great principles which the President himself has proclaimed, to call his friendly attention to the fear that certain applications of principles established with the best of intentions, may work out to results diametrically opposed to the ends sought. As I was just saying, there should issue from the labours of this Conference a result beyond all discussion. It has accomplished a great work of justice. It has established not merely guarantees against the enemy, but also the equality of all states, great and small. If principles such as it is to-day desired to insert in the Treaty with Austria had been put into the Statute of the Society of Nations, we should not have opposed it. President Wilson will please recall that the Roumanian Delegation voted to have these principles established

once for all and for everybody. To act as is planned in the present treaty is to establish different grades of sovereignty. With all the sentiments of friendship and deep admiration which I hold toward the Italian people, I cannot imagine why, under identical conditions, countries like Roumania or Serbia should be treated differently from Italy. On the other hand, as I have had the honour to explain, it is desired to establish a fraternal relation between the peoples who are forced by their geographic position to constitute themselves into one state. It would be a capital error to make these relations of friendship depend on a third party, no matter who that might be. We must not lose sight of the fact that while there are at the head of the present Great Powers men actuated by the noblest of principles, it may easily happen that political changes may cause these same states to be represented by other men, or that new interests may arise which may turn certain governments away from their previous attitude, and may lead them on to activities not conceived after these high principles, but in favour of certain special interests.

“It is certain that the Great Powers, by their sacrifices, assured the victory of the great cause of all; but I shall allow myself to add to the words the President has pronounced (for which I thank him in the name of all the smaller states) when he affirms that the solicitude of all the great political factors has been gained for us, and that he wishes to guarantee the security of all—I shall add, I say, that the responsibility of each state remains none the less complete, whatever be its size, in what re-

gards its own independence and security. Thus, at the present moment, Roumania is obliged to ensure with her own troops the defense not alone of her boundaries, but also of a cause which interests all Central Europe. In consequence, while the Great Powers have a more considerable rôle, by virtue of their size, the responsibility and the rôle of the independent states, no matter what their size, remain complete.

"I beg the representatives of the Great Powers and in particular President Wilson not to restrict by a dangerous application, great principles which are dear to all of us. There is need of no effort to secure recognition of the rights of minorities; there is not a state at this moment represented here which is not convinced of the necessity of respecting and developing these liberties. So allow these states to develop under the only conditions which permit the peaceful consolidation of the general political status which we are to establish to-day.

"Animated by sentiments both of respect and of gratitude toward the Great Powers for the services which they have rendered, I beg them urgently to examine with all the interest attaching to such great principles, the proposals and statements made by the Roumanian Government; for it is necessary that these proposals be admitted, otherwise Roumania would no longer preserve in her entirety the independence which she enjoyed in the past, for the regulation of questions of a domestic character."

Since the raising of these fundamental questions threatened to delay again the presentation of this treaty to the Austrian delegates, Venizelos sug-

gested that these clauses be detached from the main Treaty with Austria, since they did not interest Austria directly, and that the five heads of Great Powers, with the heads of Powers with Limited Interests, should meet and endeavour to come to an agreement. That ushered in months of fighting.

I was distressed that the American representatives insisted upon their signing, with as much force as the others. One American diplomat asked me to use what influence I might have at Bucharest to make them see they must sign at once. "But," I protested, "I have been reading the treaty over and I think many of their objections are valid." "Oh, yes," he replied, "I know there are various things there that are a little strong, but they've got to understand they must sign, and then we'll be reasonable in the enforcement. They must be made to realize they can't keep on 'gumming the game' like this."

But the steam-roller met a snag. No Roumanian public man could be found to sign such a humiliating document. Finally the Peace Conference had to yield and admit defeat, withdrawing practically all the obnoxious clauses, as will be seen by comparing my draft with the signed treaty. All the heart-burning, all the fierce opposition roused in Roumania against the Conference and the League of Nations, which this treaty visualized as a continuation of the methods of the Conference, all the economic and financial pressure which sorely hampered Roumania's recovery, was thrown away, and Roumania preserved her independence.

The Roumanians scored a similar victory in the

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matter of Béla Kun. As a result of the "ignorance of the question, misinformation and divergence of purposes" (the characterization of a very judicious Roumanian diplomat, who absolves the Conference of any sinister motive whatever), Paris vacillated from one impossible position to another, while Roumanian policy, based on self-defence against Hungary, was fairly consistent. Hungary, under Béla Kun, had broken the armistice conditions; and in the spring of 1919, the Roumanian Staff learned that he was planning a campaign against Roumania. This campaign was diverted to Czecho-Slovakia, to be sure; but Béla Kun paid slight attention to the fulminations of the Peace Conference against him, and went on with his preparations against Roumania, which culminated in the campaign of late July, an account of which is given in Chapter XVIII. This campaign, after initial successes, collapsed completely before the clever strategy of the Roumanians; Kun had to flee, and a new transitional socialist government, under Peidl, was formed at Buda-Pesth. This seemed on the face of it to be an acceptance by the Hungarians of Clemenceau's ultimatum of July 26th, which told the Hungarian people that they must expel Kun or face a blockade. But the Roumanian High Command felt no confidence in Hungarian promises, and decided that the only sensible policy was to disarm the Hungarians and make it impossible for them to start a new campaign. A breach at once occurred with Paris. On August 2nd the Supreme Council sent a message to the Roumanian Government requesting that the Roumanian Army cease its advance upon Buda-Pesth immedi-

ately. Military exigency, thought the Roumanian Chief of Staff, necessitated the disregard of this "request," and the occupation of Buda-Pesth followed.

On August 5 the Supreme Council sent instructions to the Inter-Allied Council in Buda-Pesth to direct the Roumanians to leave as soon as they had disarmed the Red Guard. Gen. Bandholtz was sent from Paris to be the American representative on the Inter-Allied Commission in Buda-Pesth. On the 6th, the situation was further complicated by the overthrow of the Peidl Government, and the brief installation of the Archduke Joseph as Governor; his Premier, Friedrich, became at once dictator of the Hungarian state, and lasted several months. He was one of the most unscrupulous of Hungarian politicians, and has now been shown to have inspired the murder, or attempted murder, of several of his opponents, including Károlyi. He at once brought all his arts into play in prejudicing the Inter-Allied Council against the Roumanians, and in misinforming credulous Paris. Hungarian methods were amply shown in the mutilation of the text of the Roumanian ultimatum to Hungary; as received at Paris, it lacked the restriction of live-stock requisition—the Roumanians asked 30% of that existing in the district east of the Theiss only—and gave the world the impression that the Roumanians were demanding 30% of the live-stock of all Hungary! No wonder that the Supreme Council thought the Roumanian terms excessive, and refused to recognize the ultimatum.

In this and similar ways, whatever anti-Roumanian feeling existed at Paris and abroad, was



**ROUMANIAN HOSPITAL SUPPLIES, LOOTED DRUGS, ETC., WHICH THEY FOUND STORED
IN BUDA-PESTH BY THE HUNGARIANS**





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skilfully inflamed. Perhaps the most successful stroke, from the Hungarian standpoint, was the unfortunate credulity of a Food Administration officer (outside of Hungary) who lent his authority to the lying rumour that the Roumanians had interfered with the milk supply of Buda-Pesth hospitals, and had thus caused the death of a number of babies (see p. 264). This "savagery" made a deep impression all over the world, and the painstaking refutation of the story by the Roumanians has received very little publicity. In propaganda, a clever lie, perpetrated at the right moment, is infinitely effective.

But it is high time to leave this overheated atmosphere, charged with prejudice and passion, and return to the Roumanian people themselves. In the succeeding chapters we shall see what they have contributed to culture, in their vigorous and harmonious language, their fascinating literature and their piquant art and architecture.

CHAPTER XXI

ROUMANIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE

THE Roumanians are the only Romance people who belong to the Greek Orthodox Church; their language comes from Rome, but their civilization sprang from Constantinople. Of all the other branches of the Latin race, only the Portuguese and the Spaniards, the Venetians and the Sicilians show strong Oriental influence in their art; and with them, painting and the lesser arts soon cast off the Eastern tradition. In Roumania, Greek artistic supremacy gave way directly to that of Christian Byzantium, and the influence of the West was late and comparatively slight. To understand Roumanian art and architecture, one must know also that of Persia and Turkey, Armenia and Georgia, in order to appreciate much that strikes us as strange and exotic.

The beginnings of art in Roumania are very ancient. The old Ægean civilization embraced Roumania also; inland at Cucuteni, near Jassy, are found painted potsherds and terra-cotta figurines of the so-called "owl's head" type, identical in style with others which have been turned up in Asia Minor. Geometric vases occur also; and it is clear that the Thracians who lived in these plains north of the Danube were affected by the sophisticated civilization of the Greek islands. The Black Sea coast was colonized by the Greeks; and the Archæological



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Museum of Bucharest is full of fragments of statues and monuments from Tomi—Constantza of to-day, first known to the western world as the remote place of exile for the poet Ovid.

Long before Ovid's day, the Romans had come to know and respect the Dacians—that branch of the Thracians who lived in what is now Roumania, north of the Danube. They were too proud and strong to come under the Roman yoke as easily as had the Macedonians and the Greeks. It was reserved for the Emperor Trajan to vanquish their famous king Decebalus, and bring Dacia into the Roman Empire. We are fortunate in having a pictorial record of this campaign from the best period of Roman art; the marble reliefs on Trajan's Column in his Forum at Rome show us the Dacian soldiers and cavaliers in their struggles with the Romans, and reveal the astounding fact that the Dacian dress has changed but little in the past 1800 years; the Roumanian peasant still wears his shirt outside, and his trousers are still tight and clinging!

Roumanian archæologists try to find Trajan's inspiration in the huge monument, down in the Dobrudja, called by its Turkish name Adam-Klissi (Church of the Man). This is much like Hadrian's Tomb in Rome, and was decorated with large carved reliefs, representing Roman soldiers and barbarians. I have examined the reliefs, which are now in the King Charles Park at Bucharest; they are crude and rough in execution, and it seems to me impossible that they should be as early as Trajan's day; I should assign them to the very latest period of Roman occupation. They doubtless represent some victory over

invading Sarmatians, just before the final evacuation of Dacia by the Romans. Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, had these reliefs photographed in November, 1919, and will shortly publish them in reproduction.

In the third century, Dacia passed out of Roman hands; its first new masters were the Goths. We can get some idea of their civilization from the gold ornaments which have come to light in a dozen different sites of Greater Roumania; one or two of these are comparable to the Visigothic gold treasure from near Toledo, now in the Musée de Cluny, or the trophies preserved at Monza. In 1797, at Shimleul Silvaniei (Hung. Szilágy-Somlyó), in north-western Transylvania, two Roumanian small boys unearthed a treasure consisting of fourteen golden Imperial medallions, covering the Emperors from Maximilian to Valentinian (290-374 A.D.); a magnificent double gold necklace; a silver brooch; golden garnet earrings; bracelets ending in snake's heads with garnet eyes; a garnet torque and garnet rings; and a gold seal decorated with garnets and pearls. The necklace terminates in a topaz globe, on which stand two golden lions; along its sides are attached over 50 ornaments and tiny models of farm and household objects, like scissors, hammers, a ploughshare, etc.; the most striking is perhaps a tiny boat, in which a naked man sits at the tiller. In 1799 a peasant at Nagy-Szent-Miklós, in the Torontal (Banat), dug up a golden treasure of 23 objects for the table—cups, goblets, a drinking-horn, etc.—which became known as the Attila Treasure; but it is Gothic, not Hunnish. Most interesting of all is the

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Pietroasa Treasure. This was found in 1837 in a heap of stone blocks on a Moldavian hill-top, the ruins of a Gothic temple and castle. As one of the largest pieces and four of the smaller were in the form of birds (eagles), the peasants who found the treasure called it "The Hen with the Golden Chickens," and the name has clung to it; there is a curious resemblance to the "*Gallina cum VII pullis*"—the Hen with the Seven Chickens—which the Gothic Queen Theodelind gave to the Monza Cathedral in the year 595. There are altogether thirteen pieces—bracelets (one of which has a runic inscription), a large circular platter on a round support, two smaller round pateras, two open-work baskets, one 8-sided and one 12-sided, a high narrow pitcher, several large brooches, etc. By far the most interesting piece is the patera, which is decorated with the likenesses, in raised relief, of the gods of Walhalla—Odin, Thor, Freya, Tyr, Baldur and their companions. The runic inscription seems to read "*Gutani ocwi hailag*," of which the first and last words must mean "sacred to Gutan (Odin)." From the artistic point of view, the conventionalized eagles of the brooches, and the leopards which form the handles of the graceful baskets, rouse the admiration of all who feel the charm of that strange early Mediæval art which we call Merovingian.

After the Goths, darkness descends on Dacia; Huns, Slavs and other semi-savage tribes pour down into its plains, and art ceases to exist, except as the shepherds and peasants pass on the traditional textile designs in their spinning and weaving. Roumanian archæologists find the first dawn of a new

era in the ruins of a tiny fortified Byzantine church, Sân-Nicoară, near Argesh, which was the first capital of Wallachia. Sân-Nicoară seems to date from the late 900's—a period during which almost all the churches must still have been of wood. The earliest church to come down to us is perhaps a later church of St. Nicholas at Argesh, built beside the ruins of the smaller one. This, of the thirteenth century, was erected by some prince of the Bessarab family (who gave their name to Bessarabia). It is a handsome bit of thoroughly Byzantine architecture, decorated with remarkable frescoes. Roumanian church painting was (according to the canons of the Oriental Church) completely subordinate to the manual elaborated by the monks of Mt. Athos, and that is the standard even to-day. Eighteenth and nineteenth century frescoes in Roumanian churches are still laid out under the regulations first drawn up by Panselinus, of Saloniki, back in the twelfth century; and his rules govern the painting of the icons—the religious images—in every Roumanian church and home. Panselinus' rule was the latest manual for the painter at the time when the Wallachian and Moldavian Principalities were founded; his precepts became an integral part of Roumanian Orthodox Christianity, in its struggles against Mohammedanism to the south and against Roman Catholicism and Protestantism to the west. The traditional art of the icon seems as much a part of his religion to the average Roumanian as do the exact words of the King James version to the average English or American Protestant. His stiff unreal icon means more to him than the Madonna of the Chair meant to Raphael's Floren-



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tines or means to us. It symbolizes the centuries of battle which kept the faith unchanged through all the attacks of enemies.

It was a simple style which Panselinus embalmed. The backgrounds are uniform, whether plain gilt or architectonic. The figures are outlined in the same plane and in easy attitudes; they tend to lengthen out, like El Greco's, under ascetic influences. The whole composition is governed by the law of frontality; whether the figures look toward us or are in profile, their bodies are seen from directly in front. Mountains look like stairs; perspective is absent or rudimentary; trees are bushy stalks. Costumes are those of ancient times—the tunic and mantle thrown over the shoulder. The whole icon breathes forth an antique perfume; for correctness in drawing and colour it substitutes the conventional charm of a mediæval manuscript.

Church painting, then, offers little distinctive in Roumania; the frescoes and icons differ but slightly from those found across the Serbian border. In Moldavia, there is visible, to be sure, certain Russian (and still more Polish) influence. But characteristically Roumanian are the huge fortified monasteries which arise in scores under the great voyevodes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All available resources of art and architecture were lavished upon them and their churches; we know over forty churches built by Stephen the Great alone (1457-1504). These monasteries were enclosed by fortified walls; within, they provided not merely the cells, refectory, offices and private chapels needed by the monks, but also handsome

apartments for the Prince and for guests. In the centre rises the church, of simple but distinguished architecture, and well proportioned towers and cupolas. It has an outside porch (pronaos) with a colonnade, which is open in Wallachia, closed in Moldavia; the balustrade of this pronaos and of the stair-case leading up to it, is well worth careful observation; it shows much variety of style during the centuries.

One of the first of these monasteries is that founded by Radu (Ralph) the Great, the wealthy and pious Prince of Wallachia at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Among his vineyards on the hillside over the Ialomitza River, near the city of Târgovishte, his architects erected a white marble church in the centre of a monastery group called the Deal (hill). Over the porch rise two high towers, with one still higher over the rear; delicate and playful arabesques run over the façade, the windows and even the bases of the towers. Up in Moldavia, Stephen the Great had just been building a series of solid brick or stone monasteries, decorated outside with enamelled terra-cotta plaques, and already showing Gothic influence from neighbouring Poland, but in the windows alone; Gothic arches of the nave do not come in till the reign of Basil the Wolf, in the seventeenth century. To commemorate his victory over the Tartars, Stephen founded the monastery of Putna in the Bucovina, which is his own last resting-place. He had found only four monasteries in Moldavia: Neamtz, which was built on a spur of the Carpathians about 1390 and became the centre of Church Slavonic lore; Bistritza, founded a few years later

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under Alexander the Good; Pobrata, which seems to have been a more ancient foundation; and Moldovitz, whose charter, also of Alexander the Good, dates from October 31, 1402. Stephen renewed, enlarged or beautified all these; but Putna was his special foster-child. It was begun in the summer of 1466; and we have a donation to Pobrata, signed by Stephen from Putna in 1471. Putna has been much worked over since Stephen's day; but the church preserves many features of that time, including the slender steeple over the centre of the nave, and the sturdy bell-tower, standing, like an Italian campanile, apart from the church, in the centre of the enclosing wall. Tower, steeple, arches, friezes are decorated with round enamelled plaques, in various colours, which show upon them coats of arms, dragons, and other strange animals; Gothic touches, doubtless due to Transylvanian architects, appear in the windows and doors. Stephen lavished all manner of adornment upon Putna; to-day, we have in this and other of his foundations, an occasional cross, and a few richly woven tapestries. These tapestries, which were hung over the monuments of princes and wealthy boyars, preserve interesting likenesses of the deceased, and throw much light on the history of costume. Especially interesting was the discovery at Câmpulung in 1920, in the royal tombs dating from 1266 to 1344, of the purple silk pseudo-imperial mantle of Vladislav Bessarab, together with his pearl-encrusted crown, which was taken as the model for the crown used at King Ferdinand's coronation at Alba-Julia in September, 1921.

Stephen's foundations of Putna, Humor and

Voronetz are all in the Bucovina. The most famous church in Moldavia dates from Basil the Wolf (1624-1653)—the Three Hierarchs of Jassy. This also has a row of the enamelled plaques running about it; but its chief external decoration, below and even on the two eight-sided towers, is arcade after arcade of niches and stalactite work, carved in the stone. These lines of niches, filled with paintings of saints, are characteristic of Moldavian churches. The Three Hierarchs fortunately still possesses most of its treasures of jewels, tapestries, etc.

In Wallachia, the earliest monasteries—Voditza, Cotmeana and Tismana, were built under Byzantine architectural influence, transmitted by the Serbs; they seem to have been the first church designers in Wallachia (making exception of the very early Sân-Nicoară). The abbey of Cofia, though dating from the beginnings of Roumanian architecture (about 1400), is one of the finest examples. The most celebrated monastery and church are undoubtedly those of the first capital, Argesh. They were built under Neagoe Voda (Bessarab IV, 1512-1521), and form a complex of great architectural interest; unfortunately the church has had to be dismantled and restored in recent years. It is crowned with two large eight-sided towers, one with rectangular windows and the other with rounded ones; over the entrance are two lower towers, in which the rounded narrow slits of windows are set askew, slanting on each tower in the direction of the other. Arcades of pilasters run about the church, enclosing sculptured medallions; and carved

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arabesques, with beautiful intertwining patterns, meet the eye everywhere, even on the towers. The lavish use of blue and gilt, combined with these strange helicoid towers, gives a gay and exotic effect.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a great increase in foreign influence—a Gothic stream coming from the north and northwest, a Venetian and Genoese current from overseas. Wealthy and devout princes built monasteries and palaces which are fascinating in their reminiscences of the Golden Horn on the one hand, of the Grand Canal on the other. The epoch of Sherban Cantacuzene (1678-1688) and Constantine Brancovan (1688-1714) in Wallachia vies (on a smaller scale) with the contemporary period of Louis XIV, in luxury and magnificence. The monastery of Hurez and the palaces of Mogoshoaia and Potlogi are *chefs d'œuvre* of Roumanian architecture and art, and the models followed by the architects of to-day. Bucharest has charming examples of the eighteenth century development of this distinctly Roumanian style, in the Stavrapoleos church, and the suburban monasteries of Văcăreshti and Cotroceni (of which to-day only the church is standing).

The monastery of Hurez lies in a lonely wooded valley of western Wallachia, on the edge of a forest from which it derives its name (hurez—horned owl). The church has the usual pridvor (vestibule) with columns, a small pronaos and broad naos (nave), and an altar under arched walls. The lines are harmonious, and the frescoes, of the best tradition, are still well preserved, and most interesting. Particularly characteristic of the period is the lavishness of

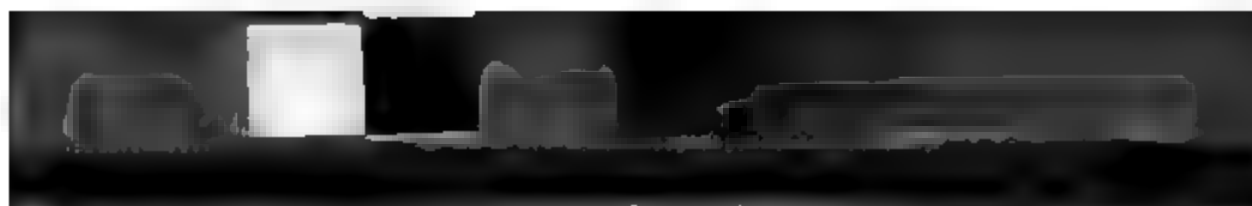
the sculptural decoration, to be seen, for instance, in the carvings of the balustrade and the varied ornamentation of the columns. There is a curious analogy between this flowering forth of Roumanian architecture and the contemporary developments under Churriguera in Spain and Bernini in Italy, all characterized by a florid exuberance, protesting against the jejune classicism which had been fashionable.

The nineteenth century has witnessed a struggle between western architectural influences, brought in by architects who had studied in Paris, or by French and Viennese masters, favoured by wealthy Roumanians who wished to give a western *cachet* to their homes; and other architects, who have tried with remarkable success to adapt the traditional Byzantine style to modern requirements. They have adorned Bucharest and other Roumanian cities with charming residences and even banks and government buildings in a style both dignified and original. P. Antonesco and N. Michaesco are perhaps the best known of the representatives of this movement in architecture, which has produced something genuinely Roumanian. The Bucharest Exposition of 1906, some of the buildings of which are preserved in the King Charles Park, had some admirable examples. Other well-known masters of this style are Burcus, Mincu, Maimarolu, Budeshti, P. Smarandesco, etc.

Painting is the art in which modern Roumania perhaps finds its most congenial expression. Two generations ago, Theodore Aman (whose name is preserved in the Aman Art Museum of Bucharest)



"TURKS IN BRAILA," PAINTING BY J. STERIADE





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won renown by his historical canvases. The greatest figure in Roumanian painting is N. Grigoresco; trained at Barbizon, he is nevertheless purely Roumanian in feeling and conception. He has many talented contemporaries; we can only cite Mirea, Verona, Basarab, Costin Petresco, Gropeano, Simonide, Aricesco.

The first, and probably the greatest, of modern Roumanian sculptors, was John Georgesco; he died young, but had already done remarkable work. N. Pavelesco-Dimo, Balacesco, Cristesco were important also in that generation. To-day, the best-known Roumanian sculptors are J. Matzacano, Severin, Jalea and Brancush.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ROUMANIAN PEASANT ARTS

ALL of Eastern Europe—Bohemia, the Ukraine, Serbia, Greece—offers a special charm in the preservation among the peasants of an ancient artistic instinct which has disappeared almost completely in the manufacturing peoples of the west. We have seen how the Roumanian peasant has clung through centuries of invasion and oppression to his language, his nationality, his attachment to the soil; he has been equally tenacious of the household arts which flourished before Trajan ever passed the Iron Gates. Only in the last two or three generations have they begun to fade before German textiles, Austrian china-ware, aniline dyes; and the efforts of patriotic Roumanians, like Princess Elise Shtirbey (Mme. John Bratiano) and her associates in the society "Albina," and Prof. A. Tzigara-Samurcash, head of the splendid Ethnographic Museum of Bucharest, are causing (let us hope) a distinct revival, and are certainly preserving a fascinating record. I have seen in Bucharest an album of over 60 hand-coloured plates which perpetuate the most beautiful designs of Roumanian embroidery known to the artist, and which, if means could only be found for its publication, would be a stimulus to artistic production in any textile centre.

The key-note of the Roumanian peasant's household economy is self-sufficiency. I have visited a peas-

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ant's establishment at Braza-de-jos, near Câmpina, where the head of the family and his sons had built a neat house, a substantial barn and several sheds, in one of which was the inevitable still, connected with the tank in which bushels of plums were fermenting for the "tzuica"; and they had adorned the porch, the windows, etc., with their own carvings. The mother of the family and the daughters had spun and woven every article of clothing, every rug, every curtain. That is the typical country home throughout Greater Roumania. They often make their own furniture and their own pottery, and take pride in their artistic qualities. The men's work overlaps the women's; the "caciula"—the high fur cap of Eastern Europe—and the leather sandals (the "opinci") are his handiwork, and he tans the skins for them; he is often competent to embroider the gay vest and trousers which are his holiday attire. The women, on the other hand, grow and treat the hemp, as well as do other farm work; and of course it falls to them to spin and card the wool.

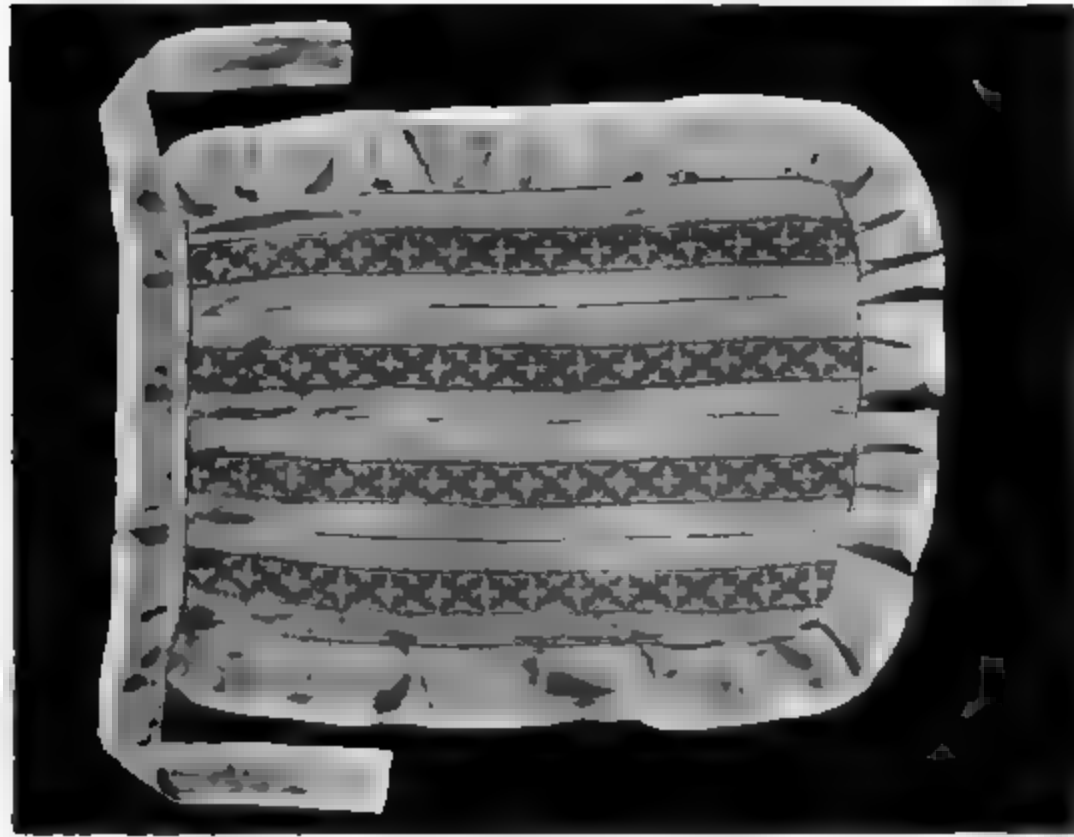
It is the national costume that first rouses the visitor's admiration. One notices resemblances in patterns and colours to those of one or other Balkan people—the "fota" (tunic), brightly embroidered with tapestry designs, and probably of Albanian origin, is common to all the South Slavs, especially the Serbs and Macedonians—but a special Roumanian character is given by greater harmony and refinement of the colouring, a more conscious regularity of the pattern, an instinctive avoidance of the crude and glaring. The purest tradition in costume has been kept in the remote Carpathian

valleys; the shepherd of the mountain pastures is here also the most typical Roumanian. His "opinci" (leather sandals) appear on Trajan's Column and the Adam-Klissi monument; his "gluga," a sort of sheepskin hood coming down to the breast, is equally ancient. He wears either the "caciula," the high lambskin cap, or a "palaria," a pointed broad-brimmed felt hat, much like that of the Balkan shepherd. The sheepskin vest, "pieptar," worn with the wool on the inner side, is often so richly embroidered in coloured silk (raised and spun by the women) that the skin itself disappears from view; the shirts are also lavishly embroidered, particularly about the shoulders and on the lower hem; the shirt is caught about the waist by a belt, and is not tucked in, but worn outside, coming to a little above the knee. This is also the style shown on Trajan's Column! Even men's night-gowns, as well as women's, are richly embroidered. Over his shirt and vest the shepherd throws a black sheepskin jacket (cojoc) and a long cloak, which also has the wool inside. His white woollen trousers are tight and never pressed. Thus attired, he demonstrates how much our taste in clothing has saddened and degenerated, from the standpoint of picturesqueness and effect; and he revives a vanished age for us with absolute fidelity.

Still more handsome and striking are the women's costumes. Queen Marie deserves great credit for the wholeheartedness with which she has thrown herself into the movement in favour of the native costume, as opposed to Paris fashions; when the King and she made their triumphal progress through Transylvania, Bessarabia, the Banat, everywhere



EMBROIDERED BABY'S BONNET, HOME-
MADE, CLOTH AND ALL, PRAHOVA
VALLEY



EMBROIDERED APRON MADE OF COTTON
CLOTH WOVEN ON THE LOOM, PRAHOVA
VALLEY



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she wore the local costume, which was always becoming to her. It is to be hoped that her example and that of many aristocratic Roumanian ladies will encourage the peasant girls (who hate to seem old-fashioned, of course, and out of style) to keep up the fine old tradition of a distinctive dress.

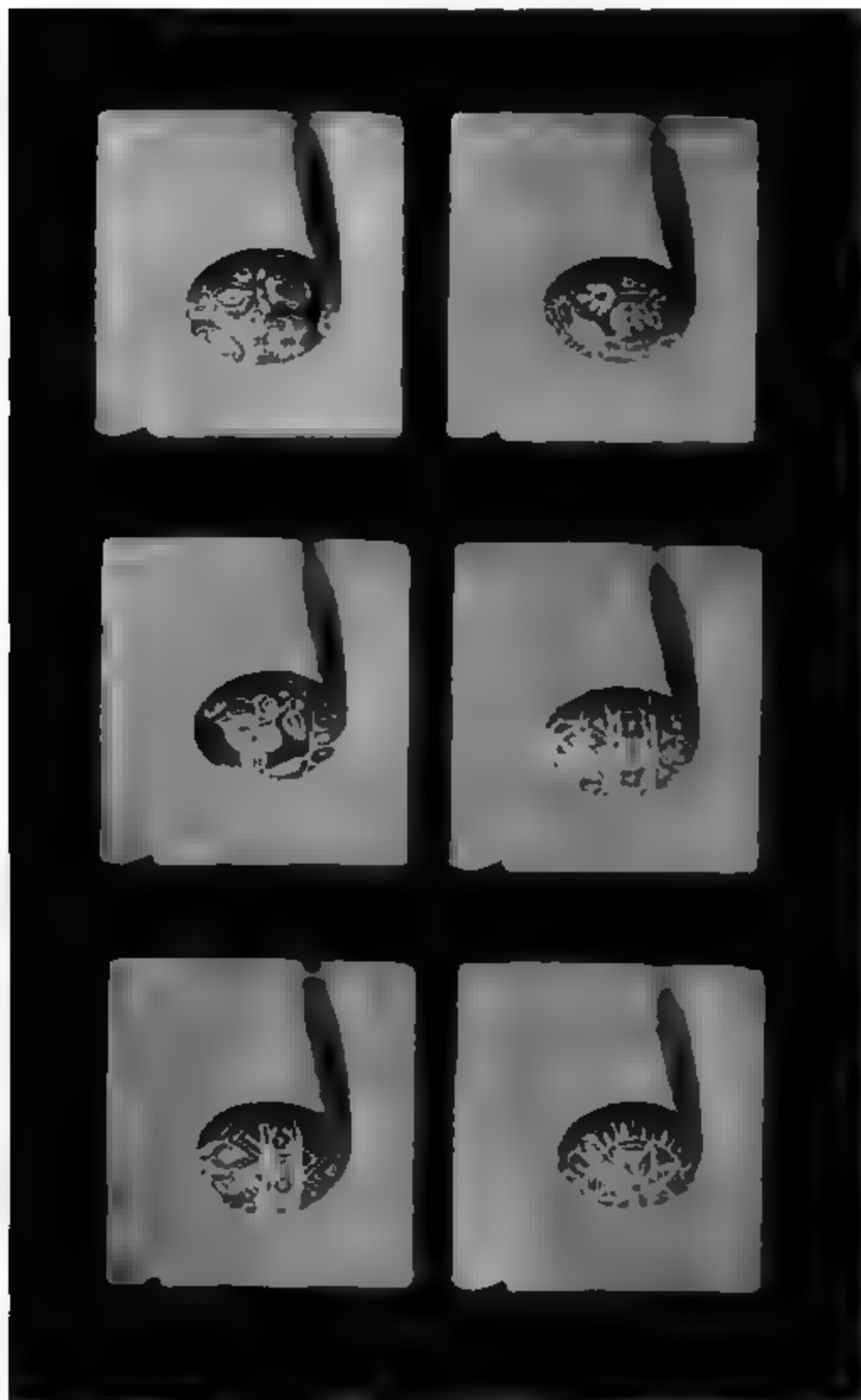
Over their undergarment, the "camasha," which comes down to the ankles, the Roumanian peasant women wear the "fota," or rather, generally two "fote"; the longer one, the "opreg," comes behind, and the "shortz" or "făstac," in front. They are lavishly embroidered; the patterns vary in different parts of the Roumanian area, and an expert can guess at once from what district a given "fota" comes. The "fota" in one piece (the "vâlnic" or "zăvelca") is much less common. The belt (brâu) is sometimes embroidered with gold, sometimes broad with a long fringe. An afternoon in the Ethnographic Museum at Bucharest, or beside the well-filled chest of some wealthy amateur, is a series of delightful surprises, and of continually growing admiration for the taste and skill of these illiterate peasant women. Alas, that such survivals of the old qualitative civilization seem doomed to disappear before cheap standard production of our quantitative age!

Not merely does the "fota" vary greatly according to the region; so does the head-dress, and the style of arranging the hair. The finest head-dress was the "testema," made of linen or batiste; but that is now rarely seen. Married women wear a long white transparent veil, the "marama," wound about the head and then waving free. In many

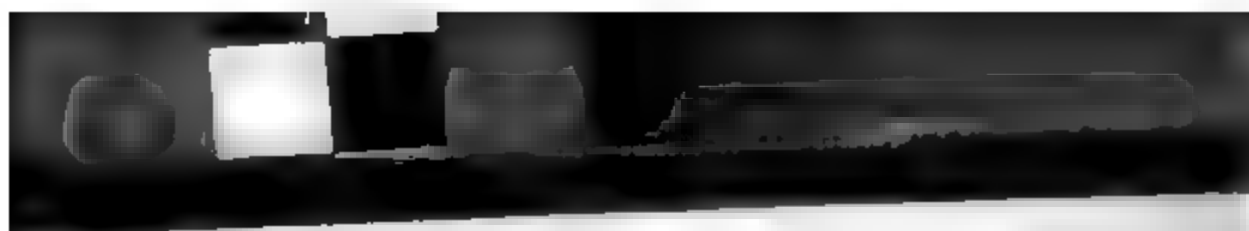
mountain districts, especially in the Banat, the married women wear the "conciu"—a sort of petite diadem of wood or metal, from which hangs a long embroidered cloth. Every towel is simply and charmingly embroidered. They take special pride in the home-made rugs or rather runners ("scoartze, laicere") which deck the walls as well as cover the floor. Never have I seen neater and cleaner homes, more tastefully decorated, than these peasant homes in the sub-Carpathian valleys, with their pleasant porches, overhung with vines and gay with geraniums and other flowering plants; when I entered their portals, the immaculate floors and walls brought back to me the feeling I had as a small boy when I used to pass a threshold of a New England "best room."

The colours of these costumes are brilliant and yet harmonious. One can imagine how the effect is often heightened by the necklaces of silver and even gold coins. Whoever has seen the "hora," the traditional folk-dance, under the brilliant Roumanian sun, with the eddying lines of bright-clad women and white-trouserred men, gracefully carrying out the immemorial figures and steps, has had a glimpse of the old Thracian civilization, neighbour and kinsman of that of the Greeks.

Space forbids any detailed account of the lesser arts; but I must not omit some description of the famous painted Easter eggs, of which the Cleveland Art Museum contains such excellent examples. Here again, the Roumanians follow a custom still prevalent all over Eastern Europe, and do so with special taste and skill. The usage evidently goes back of Christian



PAINTED EASTER EGGS
(COURTESY OF CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS)



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days, for the old church formula for blessing the Easter eggs expressly states that it is for the purpose of driving out of them any unclean spirit. The people have several traditions to explain the usage; S. F. Marian, the folk-lorist, devotes a whole chapter to them in his valuable "*Serbările la Români*" (Roumanian festivals). According to the commonest legend, while Jesus was being insulted and tortured on the cross, the Virgin offered a great basketful of eggs to the crowd of persecuting Jews to try and buy them off; unsuccessful, she laid the basket beside the cross, and the blood from Jesus' wounds was spattered and ran over them, staining some of them completely red. When Jesus saw this, he said to his disciples who were standing by: "From this day forth, in memory of my crucifixion, ye shall stain eggs red and ring-streaked, as I myself have to-day." After our Lord's resurrection, Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the first to prepare the red eggs and Easter buns, and to every one she met, she said: "Christ is risen," and gave him an egg and a bun. And since that time, the Christians have always done this.

If one compares the Roumanian Easter eggs with those of Poland, Moravia and Bohemia, one finds simpler themes and softer colouring, on the whole. In those countries, there is apt to be in each village an old woman who colours the eggs for a number of families; in Roumania, in general, each housewife still prides herself on the preparation of her own eggs. She washes them in sour milk, and warms them by the fire, where a cupful of wax is melting. The instrument she uses is a sort of wooden pencil with a tiny metal tube at the end. With this, she picks up

the melted wax and carefully draws lines or rows of points on the egg, varying the design on each. If the eggs are merely to be dyed red, they are left some time in the dye and then put in boiling water, which takes off the wax, and leaves the white background of the egg-shell in its place, so that we now have a red egg with a white pattern. If another colour is to be used, the wax is left on after the egg comes out of the first dye, and additional wax is put on over the red, to hold whatever pattern is to appear in red; then the egg is laid in the new dye, black, for instance. When the black has thoroughly overlaid the egg, boiling water takes off all the wax, and we have a black egg with a red and white pattern. By postponing the boiling water and drawing more patterns in wax we can get, e. g., a green egg with designs in red, black and white. The favourite backgrounds are red, yellow and black; green and blue are less common. Aniline dyes are replacing the traditional vegetable colours, from herbs, galls, etc., collected by the peasants themselves; and the ancient designs are disappearing, for they take too much time and trouble. They were borrowed from leaf-outlines or flower-petals, the eagle's wing or the snail's shell, or were long since conventionalized into labyrinths, stars and other figures; there are also all manner of geometric patterns. Some of these are so graceful that through the efforts of Mme. John Bratiano, Mme. Marie Panaitesco and others, they have been perpetuated as models for embroidery, rugs, etc.

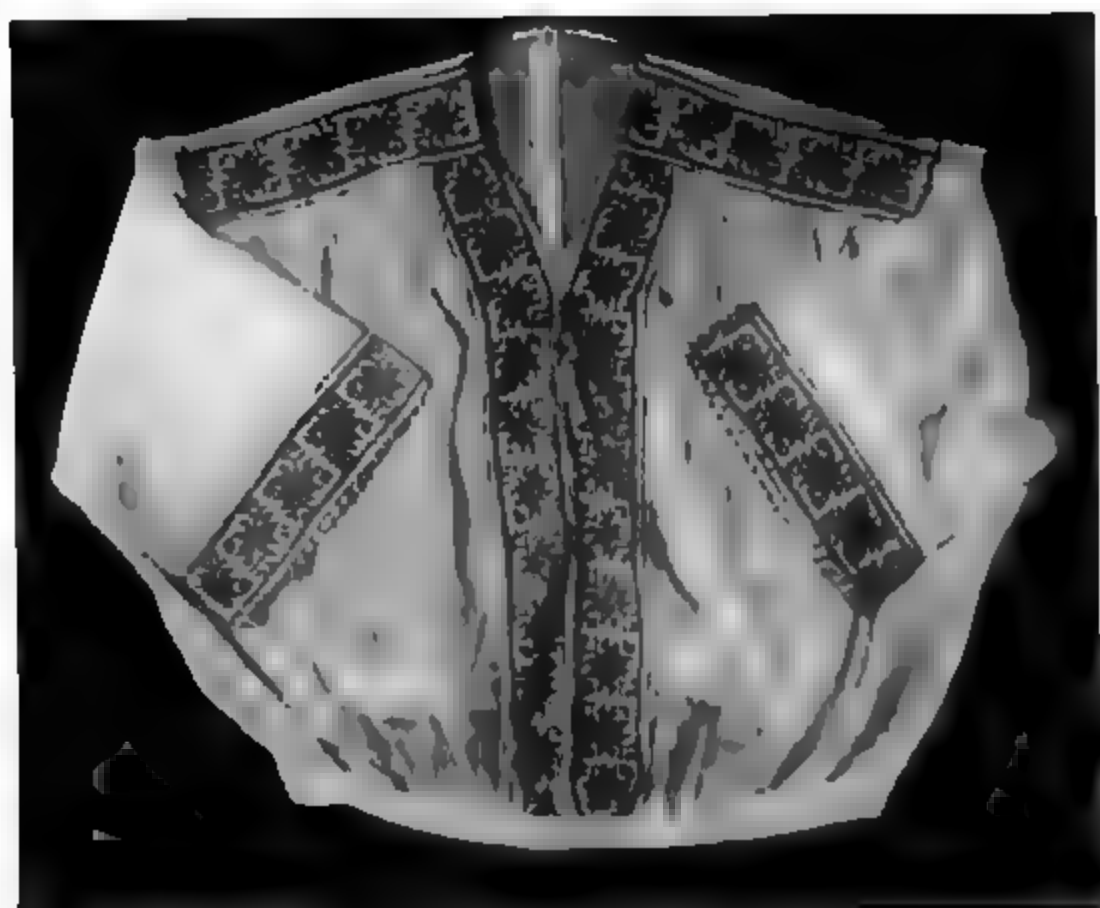
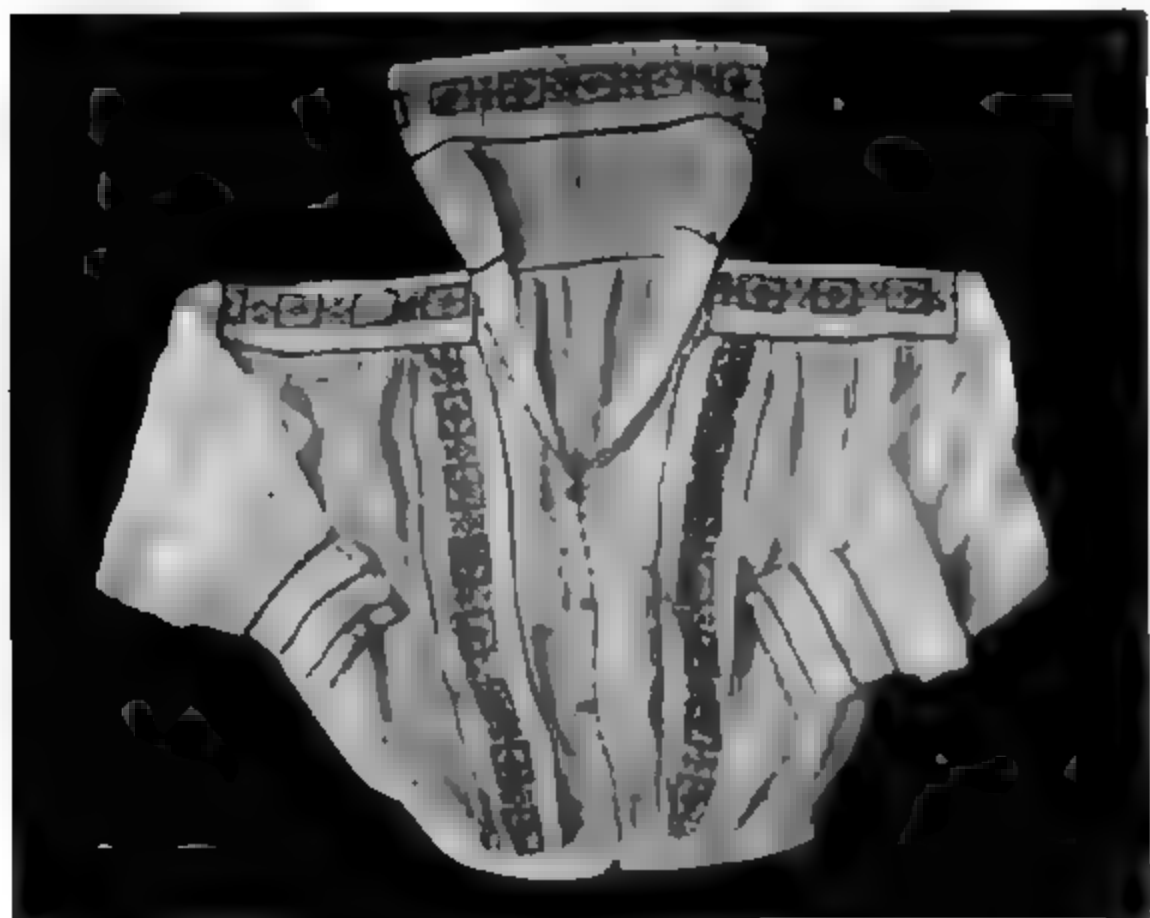
This brief survey of the domestic arts will have given some idea of the independent character and self-sufficiency of the Roumanian peasant. These

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qualities are fundamental, and show out in his dwellings. Our modern city civilization is foreign to him; even Bucharest is prevailingly a city of detached houses, and is said to cover as much ground as Paris, though with only a quarter as many inhabitants. Every Roumanian wants his fruit and shade trees, his flower-bed and vegetable garden beside even his city house, with the result that Bucharest is even more than Washington the city of magnificent distances. Foreign observers have always noticed this. An Austrian commission sent down in 1720 to report on Oltenia, which Austria had just succeeded in appropriating, remarks: "The peasant does not dwell in villages down here as he does in Germany and elsewhere, but one sees now here, now there, three, four or five more or less poorly-constructed houses" and they note that he follows his own judgment in choosing a site. Even to-day, the traveller through Oltenia or the Carpathian valleys in general sees one tiny settlement after another up on the hillside or at the mouth of a side valley—a half dozen or a dozen modest wooden houses, with their granaries or barns beside them, and generally surrounded by a fence or hedge. The villages in the plain are entirely different—a long row of dwellings bordering each side of the highway, and clustering about a square, where one sees the church and school, the general store and the café. In the mountains, the houses are built of wood and shingled, and the peasants vie with one another in the wood-carving which adorns not merely the porch and railing but even the gate leading into the barn-yard. In the plain, the better houses are built of brick, with tiled roofs;

the poorer classes live in what much resemble from outside the adobe dwellings of the Spanish and Portuguese tropics and like them are gaily coloured, often with quite elaborate decorative designs against the background of clear colour. The typical mud hut is built along the same lines as in Turkey; at the four corners strong piles are rammed down, to support the beams for the roof, and these piles are then connected by straight lines of sticks, held in place with branches and brush. Then a mixture of dirt, cut straw and manure is built up around this framework to form the walls; they dry under the sun outside and with the fire inside. The roof is thatched with whatever material happens to be most handy—bundles of reeds in the lowlands, straw and grass on the steppe. The more ambitious surround their house with a porch; vines and flowers, combined with the gay outer painting or kalsomining, make them very attractive in summer.

The primitive peasant-house is simplicity itself. The door is generally to the left on a long side of the rectangle; one enters the "tinda," a combination of store-room and vestibule; various chests to one's left contain provisions, tools, costumes, linen and what not; the hearth (vatra) is in the further corner at the right; it is an open fire-place in front, but that is only part of what becomes a tiled stove, which is built through the back wall, so that it warms the living-room also. This latter, the "odaia," is entered from the vestibule by a low door; light enters through a narrow window (fereastră) in the front wall, to which corresponds the "ocnitza" on the other side, a tiny opening, generally stopped with



EMBROIDERED WAISTS, ALL HOME-MADE,
PRAHOVA VALLEY



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paper instead of glass. Opposite one on entering the "odaia," is a long broad bench the whole width of the room, covered with mats and rugs; this forms the bed for the women and children. In summer, the men are apt to sleep out on the porch or the threshing-floor; in winter, on the floor by the stove. One can imagine the hygienic conditions of the unventilated "odaia," which is rarely over 13 or 14 feet square, and can understand why consumption is such a scourge all over the region bordering the Black Sea, where the same type of building prevails. Lambs, chickens, a cow or horse as joint tenants do not improve matters.

The first step toward a more elaborate house is to add a second "odaia" to the "tinda," building it out on the further side. Under the overhanging eaves is generally a shed, which shelters the cart, plough, etc. It is now easy to add a second story, or additional rooms. Every farmer is his own architect and builder, and it must be a very ancient traditional form of building which prevails. One type seems to have come in with the Tartars, or to have been preserved through their influence. This kind, the "bordeu," is half underground; the floor (nothing but the ground!) is about ten feet below the surface, and only the roof projects above; light comes in from windows at the gables. Xenophon found such houses in his march through Armenia, and the Tartars of Transcaucasia and Turkestan still prefer them. In Roumania, it is only the gipsies and the bitterly poor who resort to them.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ROUMANIAN PEASANT

THE Roumanians have been a pastoral people, and are now prevailingly agricultural. The change must have taken place on a large scale after the quasi-independence under the Turks had given the country a certain stability. This was after the introduction of Indian corn from the New World, and this grain has become the national food, even more than in Italy.

The Roumanian peasant is therefore agricultural in his origin, his education and his ambitions. In a subsequent chapter we shall outline the process by which he has come to own part at least of the soil which he tilled as a serf for centuries. We have already seen that he possesses remarkable artistic talent, and that he is unusually resistant to extremes of weather and to bad sanitary conditions. Nevertheless they take their toll. Infant mortality is high. Before the war, the coefficient of mortality in the Kingdom was 25.3, and one-half of these were children under 5. That was exceeded only by Russia (31.4 in 1910). Natural selection works rudely, but those that survive can go through fire and water. The Austrian Army General Orders praise the "Zähigkeit, Genügsamkeit und Ausdauer" (toughness, contented nature and endurance) of the Roumanian Transylvanian regiments; and Gen. Diaz

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told me that after the crack Tyrolese and Hungarian corps, no troops were more dreaded on the Italian mountain front than these Transylvanians; they had, he said, a diabolical cleverness in finding and exploiting the best positions.

The Roumanians have been a prolific people. Their coefficient of natality (39.9) was surpassed only by the Russians (47) and Bulgarians (40.3) and the increase of population (excess of births over deaths) was 14, one of the largest in the world. Agriculturally speaking, Roumania is still a pioneer country; density of population is less than 175 per square mile. A large family is therefore a great asset to the farmer. On a typical small farm, every member is actively at work, from the little toddler who drives the geese down to the pond and his sister who helps mother about the house, to the aged grandmother who still spins and weaves, and the patriarch who closes the shed door after the oxen. This abundance of willing patient labour is Roumania's safeguard for these trying years of reconstruction—a safeguard formed by how many years and centuries of such reconstruction in the past!

Prof. Eugene Pittard, of the University of Geneva, who has made the most exhaustive anthropological study of Roumania, comes to the conclusion that the pure Roumanian type is that which prevails in southern Transylvania and the Carpathian valleys of Roumania proper. They have very short heads (cephalic index of 250 skulls which he studied was 82.34), straight nose, and dark eyes and hair. Blonds are very rare, except in northern Moldavia and Bessarabia—much rarer than among the Serbs

and Bulgarians. These mountaineers are considerably taller than the plain-dwellers.

The Roumanian peasant is a keen observer; the botanist Hacquet, who studied the flora of Moldavia late in the eighteenth century, stated that he had never seen a people with a more exact knowledge of plants and of their medicinal qualities—for which, indeed, the ancient Thracians were famous. Dr. Antipa says that many of the Thracian names of plants, transmitted to us by Dioscorides, the ancient Greek botanist, are still in use among the Roumanian peasants, who have their own folk medicine, folk astronomy, folk meteorology, etc., which have all been investigated by Roumanian scholars. Their folk-lore is remarkably rich, and they are constantly quoting pithy proverbs which testify to the quality on which they most pride themselves, their “*bun simtz*” (common sense). They preserve many immemorial customs. The coin for Charon is still buried with every corpse; the funeral cake which Virgil mentions is still baked; and every dying Roumanian tries to meet his end with a candle in his hand. I called one afternoon on Mme. Bratiano, and found her agitated over the collapse of a servant, who had just learned that his mother had died so suddenly that they did not have time to light a candle and put it in her hand; she said she thought that affected him more than the death itself.

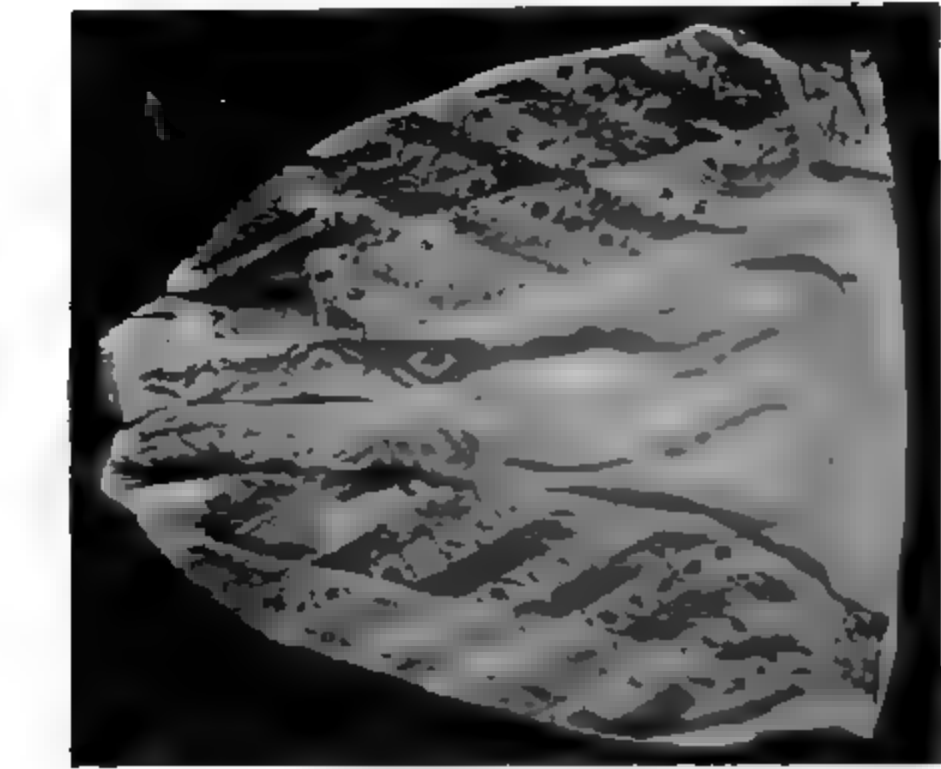
On the moral side, the Roumanian peasant stands high. Crime is rare and due generally to drunkenness, jealousy or vendetta. There are fewer homicides with robbery as the motive than in any other European nation. Drinking was recognized as an

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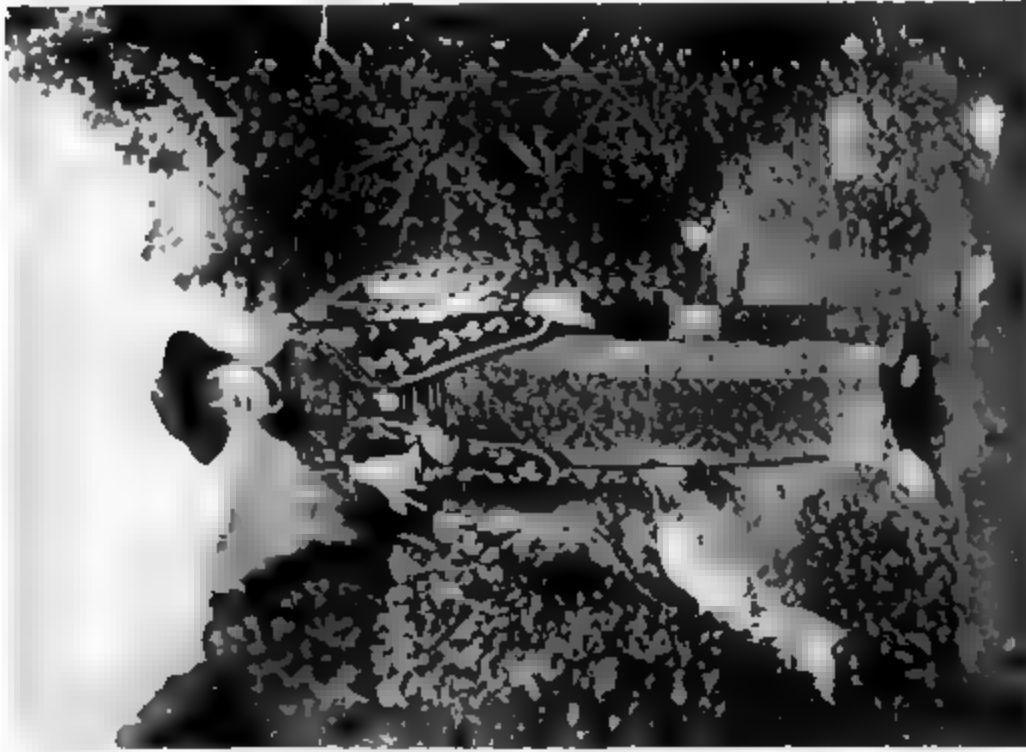
evil by the government some years ago, when it took the retail liquor traffic out of the hands of the saloon-keepers, who were mainly Jews, and established government dispensaries. In the cold winters, the peasants are tempted to drink too much "tsuica" (plum brandy), and their lavish hospitality helps; they have the habit of "treating," as we do—or did. I have had Roumanians tell me they wished our prohibition might be introduced in their country. But in general the Roumanian, especially the city dweller, is like the Italian, a wine drinker, and a moderate one. He is good-natured, gentle and witty; with strangers he is reserved at first, and on his dignity. In this and several other respects the Roumanian, in the mass, struck me as more like the Spaniard than the Italian; and I was interested in the impressions of the Italian Minister, Martin-Franklin, who was a comparative newcomer like myself. "Whenever I walk around Bucharest," he said, "I feel that I might be in any city of Central or Southern Italy—only that I do not notice any singing, whistling or loud talking, such as I should surely hear in Naples or Palermo." Personally, I felt that three-quarters of the clean-shaven boys I met on the street in Roumanian cities might be Americans, and I was tempted to address them in English; and Foreign Minister Mishu bears a close resemblance to my own father, who was a very dark type, and of purely British descent.

Alas! Roumanian scholars agree that modern city civilization is a strong deteriorating influence in Roumania. The peasant boys and girls flock to the movies off the farm, just as here. The war has

shown us how disastrous our movement toward the cities has been to agriculture; many observers feel that it contributes to the universal lowering of moral tone of which the war is only a phenomenon. Bucharest being the largest city between Constantinople and Buda-Pesth, gathers within itself from over a wide area all the forces that pander to extravagance and dissipation. An education that makes for strength of character is the only way to fight this tendency; and even in the West we cannot be proud of results along those lines. Probably the reputation which Bucharest enjoys for looseness of morals among its upper classes is much exaggerated; but I did hear various stories which reminded me of Munich, Paris or Chicago. I can only say that I was received on most cordial and friendly terms in dozens of Roumanian homes, of all classes of society, and that I found people just as correct and socially decorous as in any American city. As for the peasants I met, they seemed to me a self-respecting up-standing body of men and women. Every Roumanian complains of the extent of corruption in politics; but I write this in the midst of an American presidential election, with all its revelations of the use of money; I do however think that we have progressed further along the path of civil service reform than have the Roumanians. American business men with whom I have talked think well of Roumanian commercial morality, once one becomes accustomed to the commission or "rake-off" system which prevails all over that part of the world. They abide by their contracts, they said. A distinguished American business man, recently in Roumania, where



ROUMANIAN COSTUME FROM NEAR
DANUBE
COLLECTION OF MME. JOHN BRATIANO



WEALTHY PEASANT GIRL (DISTRICT
OF MUSCEL) IN RICHLY EMBROID-
ERED COSTUME
From "LA ROUMANIE EN IMAGES"





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he took extensive contracts and was reported to by subordinates who had been there a long time, characterizes business as "safe" and the people as "reliable."

We must grant the Roumanians a decided political gift. When only an aggregation of shepherds and peasant farmers, they managed somehow to maintain their nationality and self-consciousness in the midst of enemies and indeed under almost constant oppression by other nationalities; they evolved a system of village councils which lasted till the nineteenth century, and traditional usages which have become a body of law; we find references to the *jus Valachicum*—the Wallach law-code—from the thirteenth century on. From those early groups of shepherds they passed to the first "knezats" and "voyevodats" under energetic chieftains; then arose the Principalities, the Kingdom of Roumania, and now, Greater Roumania, whose chief task is to direct and improve these national characteristics we have enumerated. With peace and education, the Roumanian will speedily become a potent factor in European progress. Of his intellectual gifts there is no doubt; one of the most brilliant of living physicists is G. Constantinesco, whose work has revolutionized the transmission of power for short distances. He has proved the compressibility of water; and his studies of vibratory force are epoch-making. In the political sphere, the elder Bratiano and Kogălniceano were on a plane with their best western contemporaries; and the Roumanian politicians of to-day compare well with those of the countries round about them, and even some further off. Education will work wonders. With

improved agriculture, the Roumanian peasant will be able to send his children more regularly to school, and the stigma of illiteracy will gradually disappear. As it is to-day, half of the adult population of the former kingdom can neither read nor write and in Bessarabia the proportion is still higher. An American school like Robert College would be welcomed.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ROUMANIAN LANGUAGE

ROUMANIAN presents an extraordinary analogy to English. Our language is a Teutonic tongue, in which the nouns have sloughed off all declension signs except the genitive case and a plural form; in which the Teutonic vocabulary is outnumbered by words from the French and other non-related languages; in which there is some remnant of the Celtic spoken by the earlier inhabitants of Britain; in which nevertheless in ordinary spoken intercourse three-quarters of the words are pure Anglo-Saxon. In the same way, Roumanian is a Romance language like Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French, in which the Latin nouns have lost much of their declension except again the genitive (and dative) form, and the vocative (all the other Romance languages having lost even these), and the plural; in which Slav, Hungarian, Turkish and other foreign words probably outnumber those coming from Latin; in which there is a certain number of words (like *vatră*, hearth; *copil*, child; *buze*, lips) occurring generally also in Albanian and Bulgarian, which doubtless are derived from the primitive Thracian; in which however in everyday speech over three-quarters of all the words are of Latin stock. This survival of Latin out here in the East is most remarkable, for the

Romans held Dacia only five or six generations; then all connection with the western Romance world was cut; the country was flooded with Slavs, who for centuries dominated in church and government, and with Huns and Turks; and the language was never written for over a thousand years. In consequence of all these factors, a page of Roumanian seems very strange, even to one familiar with Italian or Portuguese, the languages that cultivated Roumanians find easiest to understand. This strangeness is partly due to the alphabet. Up to a couple of generations ago, Roumanian was written in the Cyrillic letters still used for Bulgarian—approximately the same as in Russian; and the orthography is still a little uncertain. In general, Roumanian is written like Italian; the simple vowels have much the same values, and c and g before e and i are soft as in Italian, like ch in church and ge in George. They have a sound like that of u in "but" or final a in "Canada," found also in Bulgarian and Albanian, which is written *ă*; and a difficult vowel (found also in the Slav languages) something like German *ü* or French *u*, but without any puckering of the lips, which is expressed by *â* or *î*; *pâine*, the word for bread, sounds much like *pweeneh*. The consonant sounds are much the same as in English; they write t with a cedilla for tz, s with cedilla for sh. All letters are pronounced, except final i, which is a faint y sound; as in Italian, ce and ci are often just a device for the sound ch (*Moscovici*=*Moscovitch*).

How deeply the language was affected in fundamentals by Slav infiltration is shown by the pronouns *mine* and *thine*, *me* and *thee*, and the numerals. *Un*,

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doi, trei, patru, cinci (cheench), shase, sheapte, opt, noua, zece are plainly Latin (patru with p for qu, like apa for aqua); but the 'teens are made as in Slav—one on ten, two on ten, etc., unsprezece, doisprezece, etc.; the tens are on the Slav model, two-tens, three-tens, etc., douăzeci, treizeci; and 100 is the Slav word, suta.

Phonetically, the Latin words show excessive wear and tear, sometimes more even than French. Caballus, horse, comes out cal, as in Lombard; dies, zi. C and t were softened more than in Italian or Spanish; acel, that, as contrasted with quello, aquel; tzinere, hold, beside tenere, tener. Roumanian is like Roman and Neapolitan in rhotacizing—înger for angel, biserică for basilica; indeed, the general impression which the language first makes, especially in intonation, is that of a South Italian dialect. The very name of the language—românesc—is precisely what the peasant of Frascati or Rocca di Papa calls his dialect. Roumanian friends tell me that they succeeded in understanding Neapolitan after a few days, when Milanese and even Tuscan baffled them. It will easily be seen that a cultivated Roumanian, who knows Latin, will have little difficulty with Italian, or even Spanish, Portuguese or French; conversely, the large proportion of Slav, Hungarian, Turkish and other strange words in the Roumanian vocabulary makes it very perplexing to the Italian; the Italian Minister told me that after two months he still understood very little of what he heard.

Perhaps the simplest way to give some idea of the surface peculiarities of Roumanian is to take a

short poem and explain it. I have found Eminesco's "Somnoroase Păsărele" well adapted for that purpose in my lectures, and it furthermore illustrates to perfection the melody of the language and the rhythmic mastery of the great poet.

Somnoroase păsărele
Pe la cuiburi se adună,
Se ascund in rămurele—
Noapte bună!

The sleepy birdlets
At their nests gather,
Hide themselves in the
branches—
Good night!

Doar izvoarele suspină,
Pe când codrul negru tace
Dorm shi florile 'n grădină—
Dormi în pace!

Only the springs sigh,
While the black forest keeps
silence,
The flowers also sleep in the
garden—
Sleep in peace!

Trece lebăda pe ape
Intre trestii să se culce—
Fie-tzi îngerii aproape,
Somnul dulce!

The swan passes over the
waters
Among the reeds that she
may go to rest—
May angels be near thee,
Sweet sleep!

Peste-a noptzii feerie
Se ridică mândra lună.
Totu-i vis shi armonie
Noapte bună!

Over the fairyland of the
night
Rises the haughty moon.
All is dream and harmony
Good night!

Explanation

Line 1: pasere, from the Latin passer, sparrow, has given the ordinary word for "bird" in Roumanian, as in Span-

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ish (pajaro). The plural is păseri (final i only heard as a faint y), with the vowel a weakened to ă. Our form here is a diminutive, păsărea, plural păsăre. When the article, which is postpositive in Roumanian as in Bulgarian and Albanian, is added (le, fem. plur.), the form becomes păsărele. The adjective somnoros becomes somnoroase in the fem. pl.

Line 2: pe la is a double preposition, like "from beyond"; pe (Lat. per) means through, on or to; it is also used before names of living things to express the accusative: am vazut pe Domnul A., I saw Mr. A., just as in Spanish one would say: vi á Sr. A. La (Lat illa or illa hac) is the usual preposition "to." Cuiburi (final i nearly silent) is the plural of cuib (from a Vulgar Latin cubium), nest. These plurals in -uri (from the Latin neuter plurals in -ora), are common in Roumanian, as they are in Sicilian dialect (nnomura, cugnomura for Tuscan nomi, cognomi). Se adună is the reflexive 3rd person plural present indicative of the verb aduna; in Roumanian, as in all Central and South Italian dialects, the infinitive loses the final -re (Roman voyu magnà, I want to eat); but when the infinitive is used as a noun, the -re is preserved; adunare means assembling, gathering. Roumanian makes great use of these verbal nouns in -re. Se adună is the same in the singular and plural.

Line 3. Se ascund is a parallel form from a 3rd conjugation verb, ascunde (Latin ascondere). In the third conjugation, the corresponding singular form has -e; se ascunde. Rămurele is the plural of the diminutive of rămură, fem., plus the article, as in păsărele.

Line 4: Noapte shows the curious change from Latin -ct- to -pt- which is characteristic of Roumanian; piept (pectus), fapt (factus), opt (octo) are examples. The vowel is softened by the following -e; e and i often produce a kind of umlaut in the preceding syllable in Roumanian. Bună is the feminine of bun, Lat. bonus. Why this phrase is re-

versed, I have not been able to find out; "Good morning" and "good evening" are "bună dimineatză" and "bună seară," the last sounding exactly like dialect Italian, as does "la revedere," the Roumanian "au revoir," and "adio," "adieu."

Line 5: Doar they derive from the Latin *de hora*. Izvoarele is the feminine plural of the masculine noun *izvor*, Slav word for "spring." In Italian we have several such masculine nouns, like "braccio," with the plural "braccia," really a Latin neuter, but counting as feminine. In Roumanian, there are many more such nouns. *Suspină* shows a change of Latin *r* (*suspiro*) to *n*; compare the reverse in *fereastră* (*fenestra*), window.

Line 6: *Pe când* is a combination like "par contre," *pe* being the preposition of 1. 2 and *când* the Latin *quando*. *Codru* is a primitive Thracian (?) word; being a masculine ending in a vowel, the definite article, when added, takes the form *-l*. *Tace* is a 2nd conjugation verb, from the Latin *taceo*.

Line 7: *Dorm* is a 4th conjugation verb, from Latin *dormio*; the singular is *doarme*. *Shi*, the word for "and," they derive from *sic*, as in the Italian dialects of Ravenna, etc. *Florile* is plural of *floare*, fem. (Lat. *flos*). 'n (*în*) is the Latin preposition. *Grădină* is the Vulgar Latin word which had already been adopted in Roman days from the Teutonic "garden."

Line 8: *Dormi* is the imperative form, sing.; the plural is *dormitzi*. *Pace* is the Latin word.

Line 9: *Trece* is a third conjugation verb, present singular, from *trece* (Lat. *traicere*); the past participle, *trecut* (ending *-ut* as in Italian dialect), is "past." The title of one of the most interesting Roumanian histories, *Vlahutza's* "Din Trecutul Nostru" (*din* = Lat. *de in*) = "From Our Past" (Ital. *dal nostro passato*). *Lebăda* is a Slav word. The fact that the final *a* is long shows that it is "the swan;" "a swan" would be *lebădă*. Such words sound almost as if

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the accent were on the last syllable. Roumanian has a much weaker accent than Italian, and in that regard gives something the impression of Spanish. Ape is the plural of apă, water, for Latin aqua.

Line 10: Intre=Lat. inter. Trestii is fem. pl. (-ii shows that the i is pronounced) of trestie, reed, a Slav (?) word. Să is the sign of the subjunctive, Roumanian using a special particle. Se culca corresponds to the French verb se coucher, from the Latin collocare.

Line 11: Fie is subjunctive of the verb "to be," for which the Lat. fio is utilized. Tzi is second personal pronoun singular, in the dative. Ingerii is the plural of inger, masc., "angel," with the rhotacizing tendency already referred to. Aproape is the combination of Latin ad and prope.

Line 12: Somnul is somn, masc., "sleep," with the article. Dulce is Latin.

Line 13: Peste is the combination of Latin per and extra. A noptzii is the genitive of a feminine noun, noapte, with the article. Noptzii alone would be the dative. Feminines ending in -a have the genitive-dative in -e, just as in Vulgar Latin; mamă, mother, genitive mame. The corresponding plural form (with article) ends in -lor, both masculine and feminine. This comes from the Latin illorum, which gives Italian loro and French leur. The masculine singular genitive, of a noun with postfixed article, ends in -lui; fratele, the brother, genitive a fratelui. This is the same lui as in Italian. Feerie is a French importation, of which the Roumanian current language is almost as full as the Bucharest shop-windows. Not all Roumanians have outgrown the feeling that their vernacular, with the fresh bloom of its peasant origin still clinging to it, needs plentiful powdering and bedizening with French. Another school, of which the great story-teller Creanga and the late poet and journalist Vlahutza were examples, believed in enriching the language directly from the peasants—an admirable

enterprise, but very hard on the student with an ordinary dictionary.

Line 14: *Se ridică*, a reflexive verb, like *se adună*, i.2. It is derived from a Vulgar Latin word *adrectico*. *Mândra* is the feminine of *mândru*, from the late Latin *mundulus*. *Luna* is the Latin word.

Line 15: *Tot* is the Latin *totus*, Fr. *tout*. The *-u* used to be written, under Cyrillic influence, but now rarely is; *-i* is the connective form of the verb "is," the full form of which is *este*. *Vis* comes from the Latin; *armonie* (probably through the French) from the Greek.

This must suffice to show some of the peculiarities of the language, and its genuinely Latin character, however overlaid with Slav and other embroidery. It is a fresh and virile tongue, and smacks of the open Macedonian mountains and the glens of the Carpathians. Forms like *facù* and *avù*, for instance, may seem rough beside the more polished Italian *fece*, *ebbe*, or French *fit* and *eut*, but they are forceful and melodious. There is a strong movement in the higher circles to ban all words not of Latin origin; one of my Roumanian officer friends told me that his father, a famous doctor, would not allow even the servants to use the Slav words "*vreme*" (time) and "*ceas*" (hour, o'clock), but insisted on "*timp*" and "*oara*." Sometimes one agrees with them; *abondentza* is certainly more harmonious than *belshug* (abundance); nevertheless in general the attempt is an unnatural one, and the vernacular must prevail. Modern Greek shows what confusion results when the theorists have too much to say about the norm. Roumanian is in far healthier condition.

CHAPTER XXV

ROUMANIAN LITERATURE

WE have seen in earlier chapters that Roumanian literature did not commence till Reformation days, and that its first written monuments are religious propaganda. Much earlier, at least in origin, must be the popular traditional literature. I have already given examples of popular poetry. Besides the haiduc (brigand) ballads, with their Robin Hood flavour, there are the *doine* (elegies and love-poems), *hore* (dance-songs), and snatches of epics and historical ballads. They are so simple that with a smattering of the grammar and a good dictionary one can get great enjoyment from such a collection as the "*Poezii Populare din Toate Tzinuturile Româneshti*"—Popular Poems from all the Roumanian Territories—published by the Bucharest firm of Socec.

The best Roumanian poets—Alecsandri, Eminesco and Coshbuc—have drunk in their inspiration from these wild free sources, as well as from the world's book of poesy. I hope the examples of their work which I have given are enough to show that they must be included in the number of the world's best singers. Vlahutza is generally agreed to rank next them. The Roumanian Academy gives poetry prizes, and one has just been won by a nephew of Ex-Premier Bratiano, John Pillat, one of whose poems I

have also found much appreciated in my lectures. Under another form, it shows the same rhythmic melody of the language:

ROMANTZA

Tzi-am dat un trandafir,	I gave you a rose, playing
jucând	You threw it into the sea,
L'ai aruncat în mare,	And the waves took it away
Shi valurile mi l'au luat	from me
In larga înserare.	Into the broad gloaming.
S'a dus—shi nimeni nu mai	It has gone—and no one
shtie	knows any more
De-un trandafir ce moare.	Of a rose that is dying.

Tzi-am dat shi inima 'ntr-o	I gave you also my soul one
zi,	day,
O zi de sărbătoare.	A holiday.
Râzând ai luat-o, te-ai jucat	Laughing you took it, you
Cu ea cu nepăsare.	played
Te-ai dus—shi nimeni nu	With it with indifference.
mai shtie	You have gone—and no one
De inima ce moare.	knows any more
	Of the soul that is dying.

We have seen that Roumanian prose literature arose from Protestant religious propaganda in Transylvania in the fifteenth century. This religious literature developed during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century under strong Slav influence; one has only to compare Coresi's Psalter with the Church-Slavonic original to see how the language has been forced into unnatural forms. Still, some of these early translations are vigorous in style, and they have had a great effect on the language. Greek

influence became predominant in the eighteenth century, especially in Wallachia, where books translated from the Greek abound—Heliodorus, e. g., Homer, and theological works. In Transylvania, there was much Latin and later German influence; and their great historians Maior and Shincal show their Latin training. About 1830 begins the modern period, in which French literature (and to a less degree Italian, Russian and German) have been the dominant external factors.

The language of Coresi's Psalter (1577) has been of extraordinary influence; one can judge of its character by the following specimen (Psalm 100):

1. Strigatzi domnului tot pământul. 2. Lucratzi domnului în veselie; intratzi într'însul în bucurie.
3. Să shtitzi că domnul elu e zeul nostru; el feace noi e nu noi; e noi oamenii lui shi oi păscuite lui.
4. Intratzi în usha lui în ispovedire, în curtzile lui în cântări; ispoveditzi-vă lui shi lăudatzi numele lui.
5. Că dulce e domnul în veac meserearea lui, shi până la neam shi neam deadevărul lui.

Together with the versions of the Bible, we find controversial literature and homilies from the very start; Coresi published two collections of the latter, both based on the Church-Slavonic. With our modern prejudice against sermons, we are apt to under-rate their importance in the history of literature; those of St. John Chrysostom, published in Roumanian translation by Greceano in 1699, are a valuable monument of the language. The Church liturgy obstinately preserved the Church Slavonic in Transylvania till the end of the seventeenth century and even later; funeral rites and prayers were the first to be

read in Roumanian, and since they were to be "understood of the people," they are in popular style from the beginning.

This Protestant movement in Transylvania gave rise to an Orthodox reaction in Moldavia and Wallachia; and in order to fight the Protestants they had to adopt the national tongue. Leader in this was the Moldavian archbishop Varlaam, whose "*Cartea româneasca de învățătura*" (Roumanian Book of Learning), published in 1643 at Jassy, is the most outstanding book of this epoch. Law collections, commentaries on the Gospels and on dogmatical problems were printed. In 1648-1649, even a complete translation of Herodotus was brought out.

A great author of this epoch is the Metropolitan Dositheus (Dosoŭtei), who in 1673 published a Psalter in verse, then a prose Psalter, translations from the Bible and a great compilation in several volumes, "*Vietzile Sfîntilor*" ("Lives of the Saints"). About 1650, Neagoe Voda wrote a forceful and engaging "Book of Instructions" to his son Theodosius.

The most important work of the seventeenth century, however, is the complete edition of the Bible in Roumanian, of 1688, in a beautiful and noble style. This is the basis of all later Bible editions. Like the New Testament of Alba-Julia of 1648, like Varlaam's "Book of Learning," this great edition of the Bible in its preface emphasizes that it is written "*pentru toata lumea româneasca*,"—"for the whole Roumanian world," of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania,—which proves once more that the spirit of national unity among the Roumanians

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of the three Principalities was already strong in the seventeenth century.

These works were the foundations of the powerful Church Literature developed in the eighteenth century especially by Archbishop Antim (Anthymus) Ivireano and by the Greceano brothers (the just-mentioned "Chrysostom's Homilies").

Belles lettres commence with translations of the Greek romances, in the second half of the eighteenth century; the story of Hierotocrytes and Arethusa has many lyric passages in its prose, and these poems have had considerable influence. The earliest artificial poetry (as contrasted with popular verse) is the amusing Ode of Halicz of 1674, in Roumanian hexameters in which all the words are of Latin origin.

Of far greater general interest is the popular literature. Our earliest prose stories are eighteenth century versions of various of the Alexander legends, of the Thousand and One Nights, of Æsop's Fables, of the Physiologus, etc. Calendars and astrologies of the same period are full of valuable references to popular beliefs. We even have cook-books going back to 1749! In poetry, as we have just seen, there is a large number of ballads, the most famous being that of the Monastery of Argesh. This has the same theme as the Greek poem of the Bridge of Arta.

Proverbs, riddles, witty stories and anecdotes close the series of monuments of the popular literature. It must be studied in close connection with that of the Serbs and Greeks.

Roumanian histories begin with chronicles kept in

the monasteries, enumerating the princes and the years they ruled, to which later were added certain events of their reigns. The oldest annals of this kind are the so-called "Analele Putnene" and "Analele Bistritzene," because they were kept in the Putna and Bistritza Convents. They were written in Church Slavonic during the first decades of the sixteenth century. But very soon, annals of this kind were enlarged and translated into Roumanian, and they formed the first Roumanian chronicles. The first Roumanian historian is the chronicler Gregory Ureche, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. His chronicle describes the events from the foundation of Moldavia (A. D. 1350) to the end of the sixteenth century. It was continued by Miron Costin, who lived about 50 years later and wrote the lives of the Moldavian Princes down to 1680. Costin, who studied at Polish universities, was at the same time a poet in Roumanian and Polish, and his "Viatza Lumii" (Life of the World) is one of the first Roumanian poems. At the same time he wrote also a history of the colonization of Dacia.

Costin's chronicle was continued by the Moldavian Boyar, John Neculce, from 1680 to the battles of Peter the Great on Moldavian territory against the Turks. Neculce also added to his history a long series of legends about the early Moldavian princes. One of the most prominent characters in Roumanian letters is the Moldavian prince, Demetrius Cantemir. He wrote the history of the foundation of the Roumanian race in his "Chronicul Vechimei Româno-Moldo-Vlahilor." He also wrote the "History of the Ottoman Empire," and the "Description of Moldavia," both in Latin. Among his Roumanian

works is the life of his father, Prince Constantine Cantemir and the so-called "Quarrel between the Brancovan and the Cantacuzene families." Cantemir is one of the most prominent European scholars at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and his history of the Ottoman Empire was long a standard work. In Wallachia the best-known chroniclers are Stoica Lulesco, Radu (Ralph) Popesco, Radu Greciano and Constantine Capitano Filipesco (an ancestor of Nicholas Filipesco, the distinguished Roumanian Ententophile during the World War), who all lived at the end of the seventeenth century. More important is their contemporary, Constantine Cantacuzene Stolnicul, who during the first few years of the eighteenth century wrote not only the history of his own province of Wallachia, but also the history of Moldavia, Transylvania and even that of the Roumanians of Macedonia. He also wrote the history of the origin of the Roumanians beginning with the very early years of Rome.

It is remarkable that all these chroniclers have a strong consciousness of the Latin origin of the Roumanians, and of the unity of the three Roumanian principalities. Ureche, Costin, Cantemir, Constantin Stolnicul endeavoured to prove that the inhabitants of Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia are one and the same race, descended from the Roman colony established by Trajan. On the basis of this work of the chroniclers rose about 1800 the great Transylvanian trio of historians, Micu, Shincal and Maior, who laid the foundations of modern Roumanian historical writing.

Samuel Micu (Clain, Klein), George Shincal and Peter Maior were educated in Roman Catholic semi-

naries of Rome and Vienna. They are the creators of the modern Roumanian spirit of unity and Latinity, which they endeavoured to attain through their historical and philological works, thus starting a new epoch in Roumanian history. Micu's great work is the "History of the Roumanians," picturing the life of the whole Roumanian race from its foundation to his days. Shincal developed his great "Roumanian Chronicle" in the same spirit, analyzing year by year the progress of his nation in all three Roumanian countries. Maior wrote the "History of the Roumanian Church." Their activity is important also in the history of Roumanian philology and religious literature. In philology they began the Latinist movement, which later became exaggerated, and they are the first to discard Cyrillic letters and reintroduce Latin characters in Roumanian.

In close relation with them worked John Budai Deleano, an excellent philologist, who wrote a good humorous epic, the so-called "Tziganiada," which describes in a dignified Homeric style the amusing adventures of a Gipsy tribe.

Under the Phanariotes, French literature and western ideals came rushing in. About 1815, we have a biting satirical comedy, written by a boyar against the Phanariote régime—Iordache Golescul's "Condition of Roumania"; and in the twenties Alexander Beldiman wrote a rhymed chronicle on the downfall of the Greeks. With the new political life, a host of writers arose. Some like the Moldavian George Asachi (died in 1869) and the Wallachian John Eliade Rădulesco (died 1872) distinguished themselves both in prose and verse; these two authors

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founded in the same year (1829) the first Roumanian journals: *Curierul Românesc* at Bucharest, and *Albina Româneasca* at Jassy; and the philharmonic and dramatic societies which they established (1833 in Bucharest, 1836 in Jassy) have been the chief encouragement to the Roumanian stage. Among other pioneers in Roumanian poetry should be mentioned John Văcăresco (died 1863), Paris Momuleano (died 1837), Constantine Conachi (died 1869), Basil Cârlova (died 1831), Gregory Alexandresco (died 1885), Demetrius Bolintineano (died 1872), the fable-writer Alexander Donici (died 1866), Constantine Negruzzi (died 1868) and the first great Roumanian writer, Basil Alecsandri, bard of the Roumanian Renaissance and the Union, who had the satisfaction of singing of Roumanian independence, and of the Iron Crown of Roumania's first king. Nicholas Bălcesco (died 1852) and the great statesman Michael Kogălniceano are the leaders in the writing of history; the latter, in conjunction with Augustus T. Laurian (died 1881), founded in 1845 the first Roumanian historical review. Laurian brought out a number of important historical works, both in French and Roumanian.

Under these writers, the language takes final literary form. French Romanticism had affected them powerfully; but they had nevertheless the good sense to keep in close contact with the people and the past. Alecsandri drew constantly on popular ballads; Kogălniceano was the first scientific editor of the chronicles, in 1857; Bolintineano brought out historic poems based on popular sources; Odobesco collected traditions and enriched the language with many a

picturesque archaism. The well-known critic Titus Maioresco edited a magazine, the *Convorbiri Literare* (Literary Conversations), which had an enormous influence, counting always for moderation and purity of language and combating every form of exaggeration.

This was the environment which developed the rare talents of the poets Eminesco and Coshbuc. Of different origin and temperament, they represent two characteristic aspects of the Roumanian spirit, portrayed in faultless language. Their influence on later writers has been profound; every Roumanian writer knows his Alecsandri, Eminesco and Coshbuc by heart. Eminesco's pessimistic views of life, expressed as they were in simpler style, have found more imitators than Coshbuc's optimism, infinitely original both in form and content. Still, Coshbuc's influence is to be seen in the movement for literary regeneration and a return to the language of the people which was preached at the turn of the century in the columns of the magazine *Semănătorul*, edited by Nicholas Iorga, perhaps the most outstanding figure in contemporary Roumanian letters. Iorga is a man of the highest learning and culture and an impassioned antiquarian and historical writer, whose energy and literary productiveness baffle comprehension, and yet leave him time for ceaseless political activity both in and out of the Roumanian Chamber. In his capacity as university professor, lecturer in the Roumanian Academy and editor of this review, he has trained a large number of the younger generation. I met his pupils in every sphere in Roumania. Michael Sadoveano, Emil Gârleano and Sandu Aldea may be mentioned as prominent members of the so-

called Nationalist Group led by Iorga; they all published their first works in the *Semănătorul*. Of recent years, Iorga found it necessary to discontinue his magazine, and the daily which has taken its place—*Neamul Românesc*—has become mainly a political sheet, while his other publication—*Floarea Darurilor*—is devoted to the translation and diffusion of foreign literary masterpieces.

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returned, he took me around to Police Headquarters and introduced me to Furtuna, who is a high official there!

Of the lesser modern poets, Theodore Sperantia is a talented writer in the style of the French Symbolists; his father's Roumanian Grammar is a widely used school-book. Gregorian is a powerful imaginative descriptive poet. Basil Stoïca, the Transylvanian, has written a valuable story of his country's sufferings. His latest poems, "In Fumul Uzinclor" (In Factory Smoke), deal with the life of the Roumanian workers in American steel-mills. Others who deserve mention, at least, are Hélène Văcăresco, whose knowledge of French and English has made her an invaluable intermediary, since her translations of her fellow-poets have been our chief source of information; Marcellus Romanesco, Nichifor Crainic, Demosthenes Botez, Helena Farago, G. Tutoveano, V. Demetrius, Hildebrand Frollo, Dinu Rămura (Hertz), V. Stoïcesco, Mircea Rădulesco, Oreste, etc.

The elder generation of novelists and story-writers,—Caragiale, Delavrancea, Basarabesco, Duius Zamfiresco, N. Gane, etc.—produced little or nothing during this period. Perhaps the leading writer is Michael Sadoveano. In his short stories, one sees the influence of de Maupassant, while his exciting historical novels remind one of Sienkiewicz and the Russians. His best stories are found in "Povestiri," "Duduia Margareta," "Insemnările lui Niculae Manea," "Haia Sanis," and "Floare Ofilita"; I can recommend his "Neamul Shoimăreshtilor" as an engrossing picture of the old days of warfare be-

tween the Pole, the Moldavian and the Turk. Sandu Aldea has written many vivid stories of peasant life, such as "Pe drumul Baraganului" and "Două Neamuri." Em. Gârleano had already made a reputation as a brilliant story-writer when a premature death carried him off; his "Bătrânii" "Cea Dintâi Durere," "Schitze din Rasboiu," "O Noapte de Maiu" give evidence of a remarkably original talent. Agârbiceano is the leading Transylvanian story-writer; his "Dela Tzara," "Fefelega," etc., are full of local colour. Doubtless the most outstanding figure in this genre is I. Brătescu-Voineshti. His "In lumea Dreptatzei" and his "Scrisorile" published during the period of Roumanian neutrality in the Jassy *Viatza Românească* are collections of masterpieces of close observation and a deep sense of the tragedy of life. His style, which is highly praised by Roumanian critics, and which is certainly keen and dramatic, is so full of Slav words (which the poets also are apt to prefer) that I have always found him rather difficult reading.

Roumanians have a natural gift for the short story and the novel, and one could make an impressive list of the best-known story-writers. Alexander Cazaban has specialized in hunting tales; N. Dunăreano describes the life of the Dobrudjans of the Danube delta, just as M. Chiritzesco devotes himself to the peasants of the Wallachian plain, and I. Vissarion, in stories like "Nevestele lui Mosh Dorogan" and "Privighetoarea Neagra," sketches in brilliant local colour the peasants of Argesh and Muscel. Victor Eftimiu, the poet, has written most interesting stories about his own home country down in Macedonia;

his best-known novel is "Năluca." John Adam has brought out several volumes of stories and novels dealing with the Dobrudja; V. Caraivan, T. Pamfil Rădulesco-Codin, I. Dragoslav describe Roumanian peasant life in one or other region, or have given literary form to folk-tales and ballads, along the lines laid down by Creanga. Lucy Byng's recent "Roumanian Stories" (Lane, 1921) present in admirable translation, a good selection from the stories and sketches of several of the authors whom I have mentioned above.

No recent writer for the stage has reached the level of Caragiale. The most recent Bucharest papers tell of the continued success of his "Scrisoara Pierduta" (Lost Letter), whose cutting satire on the politics and social life of forty years ago has not yet lost timeliness. His drama "Năpasta" is a powerful study of Roumanian peasant problems. "Manasse," by Ronetti-Roman, is a fine production. One of the best Roumanian historical plays is "Vlaicu Voda," by Al. Davila. Indeed, after Caragiale ceased writing, there was an appreciable gap, bridged by adaptation and translations. Then Delavrancea, one of Roumania's best writers, brought out a trilogy—"Apus de Soare" (1909), "Viforul" (1910), "Luceafărul" (1910), dealing with Moldavian history, which made a great sensation, and were still being played to crowded houses when I was in Bucharest. Haralamb Lecca, who has been prolific in both prose and verse, had distinguished success at the National Theatre with his plays, "Ca Jucătorii de Cărtzi," "Câinii" and others. In recent years Victor Eftimiu, just men-

tioned as a poet and story-writer, and now Director of the National Theatre, has written several charming phantasies in verse, like "Inshira-te Mărgărite" and "Cocoshul Negru," the former of which is constantly running in Bucharest. Anghel and Iosif also collaborated for the stage, and their three-act light opera "Cometa" had considerable success. They worked together also on the opera libretto "Legenda Funigeelor," an adaptation of Wagner's "Flying Dutchman." Other well-known writers for the stage are: Alexander G. Floresco, author of the prose drama "Sanda"; H. Pandelea, best known for "Ultimul Vlastar"; Dinu Rămura (A. Hertz), with "Floare de Nalba" and "Paianjenul"; and Alfred Moshoiu, author of "Dansul Ielelor."

In the days before freedom of the press, the fable had much vogue as a method of conveying criticism of conditions; and even in recent years it was employed by Caragiale in "Convorbiri Critice," by Anghel and Iosif ("A. Mirea") in the "Caleidoscopul," and George Ranetti, who brought out a thin volume of witty fables. The epigram, which is also a characteristically Roumanian development, has had brilliant exponents in R. Rosetti, A. C. Cuza and the brothers Cincinnatus and John Pavelesco.

Roumania produced two important literary critics during the nineteenth century, Titus Maioresco and Dobrogeano Gherea. After their death, the field was occupied by Hilarion Chendi, who brought out several volumes of "Foiletoane" (Feuilletons), "Preludi," etc., marked by taste and discrimination; Eugene Lovinesco, better known as story-writer and dramatist; Simeon Mehedintzi, whose excellent

critiques were published in *Convorbiri Literare*. Recently another school of critics has arisen in Roumania, who endeavour to penetrate beyond style and form, and judge of an author's success in the expression of his ideas. C. Stere, Garabet Ibrăileanu, Isabella Sadoveanu and H. Sanielevici are the leading exponents, and have published stimulating critical studies, particularly in *Viatza Românească*.

In the field of scientific history, Roumania is best known by the works of Alexander Xenopol (whose Roumanian history, in French and in German, is generally reputed the best); John Bogdan; the Bucovinian Demetrius Onciul, professor at the University, whose convenient summary "Din Istoria României" I have found most clear and helpful; Nicholas I. Iorga, whose enormous productivity I have outlined earlier in the chapter; Constantine Giuresco, and John Sârbu. History as a literary genre is represented by various of Iorga's works—"Istoria lui Shtefan cel Mare," "Sate shi Mănăstirii din România" and "Drumuri shi Orashe"—and especially by Vlahutza's little volume "Din Trecutul Nostru" (Out of Our Past), which I consider one of the most graphic and charming series of historic episodes I have ever read in any language.

Archæological studies were well represented in the elder generation by Odobesco, Tocilescu and Teohari Antonesco; after their death, Iorga became pre-eminent in this field also, particularly as regards ancient and mediæval art. The best-known modern writers are George Murnu, Basil Pârvan (who specializes in Roman remains), A. Tzigara-Samurcash, Director of the National Ethnographic Museum, A.

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Since the war John Pillat, a nephew of Bratiano, who was favourably known for his volumes "Visuri Păgâne" (Pagan Dreams) and "Eternități de o Clipă" (Eternities of a Moment), (from which I have taken the poem on page 352), has brought out another collection, "Grădina între Ziduri" (The Walled Garden), in which his talent has won new praise. John Pavelesco is the sonnet-writer of to-day; Alfred Moshoiu is producing charming verse, underlaid with deep melancholy; Horia Furtuna is a skilful master of the language. To show the activity of Roumania's literary men: when I was in Bucharest, Pillat was running for Parliament up in Bessarabia, and one day after the elections, when he had

returned, he took me around to Police Headquarters and introduced me to Furtuna, who is a high official there!

Of the lesser modern poets, Theodore Sperantia is a talented writer in the style of the French Symbolists; his father's Roumanian Grammar is a widely used school-book. Gregorian is a powerful imaginative descriptive poet. Basil Stoïca, the Transylvanian, has written a valuable story of his country's sufferings. His latest poems, "In Fumul Uzinelor" (In Factory Smoke), deal with the life of the Roumanian workers in American steel-mills. Others who deserve mention, at least, are Hélène Văcăresco, whose knowledge of French and English has made her an invaluable intermediary, since her translations of her fellow-poets have been our chief source of information; Marcellus Romanesco, Nichifor Crainic, Demosthenes Botez, Helena Farago, G. Tutoveano, V. Demetrius, Hildebrand Frollo, Dinu Rămura (Hertz), V. Stoïcesco, Mircea Rădulesco, Oreste, etc.

The elder generation of novelists and story-writers,—Caragiale, Delavrancea, Basarabesco, Duius Zamfiresco, N. Gane, etc.—produced little or nothing during this period. Perhaps the leading writer is Michael Sadoveano. In his short stories, one sees the influence of de Maupassant, while his exciting historical novels remind one of Sienkiewicz and the Russians. His best stories are found in "Povestiri," "Duduia Margareta," "Insemnările lui Niculae Manea," "Haia Sanis," and "Floare Oflita"; I can recommend his "Neamul Shoimăreshtilor" as an engrossing picture of the old days of warfare be-

tween the Pole, the Moldavian and the Turk. Sandu Aldea has written many vivid stories of peasant life, such as "Pe drumul Baraganului" and "Două Neamuri." Em. Gârleano had already made a reputation as a brilliant story-writer when a premature death carried him off; his "Bătrânii" "Cea Dintâi Durere," "Schitze din Rasboiu," "O Noapte de Maiu" give evidence of a remarkably original talent. Agârbiceano is the leading Transylvanian story-writer; his "Dela Tzara," "Fefelega," etc., are full of local colour. Doubtless the most outstanding figure in this genre is I. Brătescu-Voineshti. His "In lumea Dreptatzei" and his "Scrisorile" published during the period of Roumanian neutrality in the *Jassy Viatza Românească* are collections of masterpieces of close observation and a deep sense of the tragedy of life. His style, which is highly praised by Roumanian critics, and which is certainly keen and dramatic, is so full of Slav words (which the poets also are apt to prefer) that I have always found him rather difficult reading.

Roumanians have a natural gift for the short story and the novel, and one could make an impressive list of the best-known story-writers. Alexander Cazaban has specialized in hunting tales; N. Dunăreano describes the life of the Dobrudjans of the Danube delta, just as M. Chiritzesco devotes himself to the peasants of the Wallachian plain, and I. Vissarion, in stories like "Nevestele lui Mosh Dorogan" and "Privighetoarea Neagra," sketches in brilliant local colour the peasants of Argesh and Muscel. Victor Eftimiu, the poet, has written most interesting stories about his own home country down in Macedonia;

his best-known novel is "Năluca." John Adam has brought out several volumes of stories and novels dealing with the Dobrudja; V. Caraivan, T. Pamfil Rădulesco-Codin, I. Dragoslav describe Roumanian peasant life in one or other region, or have given literary form to folk-tales and ballads, along the lines laid down by Creanga. Lucy Byng's recent "Roumanian Stories" (Lane, 1921) present in admirable translation, a good selection from the stories and sketches of several of the authors whom I have mentioned above.

No recent writer for the stage has reached the level of Caragiale. The most recent Bucharest papers tell of the continued success of his "Scrisoara Pierduta" (Lost Letter), whose cutting satire on the politics and social life of forty years ago has not yet lost timeliness. His drama "Năpasta" is a powerful study of Roumanian peasant problems. "Manasse," by Ronetti-Roman, is a fine production. One of the best Roumanian historical plays is "Vlaicu Voda," by Al. Davila. Indeed, after Caragiale ceased writing, there was an appreciable gap, bridged by adaptation and translations. Then Delavrancea, one of Roumania's best writers, brought out a trilogy—"Apus de Soare" (1909), "Viforul" (1910), "Luceafărul" (1910), dealing with Moldavian history, which made a great sensation, and were still being played to crowded houses when I was in Bucharest. Haralamb Lecca, who has been prolific in both prose and verse, had distinguished success at the National Theatre with his plays, "Ca Jucătorii de Cărtzi," "Câinii" and others. In recent years Victor Eftimiu, just men-

ioned as a poet and story-writer, and now Director of the National Theatre, has written several charming phantasies in verse, like "Inshira-te Mărgărite" and "Cocoshul Negru," the former of which is constantly running in Bucharest. Anghel and Iosif also collaborated for the stage, and their three-act light opera "Cometa" had considerable success. They worked together also on the opera libretto "Legenda Funigeelor," an adaptation of Wagner's "Flying Dutchman." Other well-known writers for the stage are: Alexander G. Floresco, author of the prose drama "Sanda"; H. Pandelea, best known for "Ultimul Vlastar"; Dinu Rămura (A. Hertz), with "Floare de Nalba" and "Paianjenul"; and Alfred Moshoiu, author of "Dansul Ielelor."

In the days before freedom of the press, the fable had much vogue as a method of conveying criticism of conditions; and even in recent years it was employed by Caragiale in "Convorbiri Critice," by Anghel and Iosif ("A. Mirea") in the "Caleidoscopul," and George Ranetti, who brought out a thin volume of witty fables. The epigram, which is also a characteristically Roumanian development, has had brilliant exponents in R. Rosetti, A. C. Cuza and the brothers Cincinnatus and John Pavelesco.

Roumania produced two important literary critics during the nineteenth century, Titus Maioresco and Dobrogeano Gherea. After their death, the field was occupied by Hilarion Chendi, who brought out several volumes of "Foiletoane" (Feuilletons), "Preludi," etc., marked by taste and discrimination; Eugene Lovinesco, better known as story-writer and dramatist; Simeon Mehedintzi, whose excellent

critiques were published in *Convorbiri Literare*. Recently another school of critics has arisen in Roumania, who endeavour to penetrate beyond style and form, and judge of an author's success in the expression of his ideas. C. Stere, Garabet Ibrăileanu, Isabella Sadoveanu and H. Sanielevici are the leading exponents, and have published stimulating critical studies, particularly in *Viatza Românească*.

In the field of scientific history, Roumania is best known by the works of Alexander Xenopol (whose Roumanian history, in French and in German, is generally reputed the best); John Bogdan; the Bucovinian Demetrius Onciul, professor at the University, whose convenient summary "Din Istoria României" I have found most clear and helpful; Nicholas I. Iorga, whose enormous productivity I have outlined earlier in the chapter; Constantine Giuresco, and John Sârbu. History as a literary genre is represented by various of Iorga's works—"Istoria lui Shtefan cel Mare," "Sate shi Mănăstirii din România" and "Drumuri shi Orashe"—and especially by Vlahutza's little volume "Din Trecutul Nostru" (Out of Our Past), which I consider one of the most graphic and charming series of historic episodes I have ever read in any language.

Archæological studies were well represented in the elder generation by Odobesco, Tocilescu and Teohari Antonesco; after their death, Iorga became pre-eminent in this field also, particularly as regards ancient and mediæval art. The best-known modern writers are George Murnu, Basil Pârvan (who specializes in Roman remains), A. Tzigara-Samurcash, Director of the National Ethnographic Museum, A.

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Baltazar and especially the historian Alexander Lepadatu, who has published in the admirable Bulletin of the Commission on Historic Monuments—volumes as superbly printed and illustrated as anything in the West—a valuable series of studies on Roumanian architecture. The field of Byzantine studies is represented by O. Tafrali.

The best-known Roumanian writer on philosophical subjects was Basil Conta. His successors were Rădulesco Motru, author of an extensive study on "Puterea Sufleteasca" (Spiritual Force) and the historian Alexander Xenopol, who has written on the philosophy of history. Motru is still alive; other contemporary writers on philosophy are the sociologist Demetrius Gusty, of Jassy, John Petrovici, whose studies have mostly been published in the magazine *Cultura Româna*, Constantine Antoniade, the Roumanian interpreter of Carlyle, Marius Ștefănescu, and Radu Djuvara. There is also an aphoristic literature, represented by Iorga's "Gânduri și Sfaturi" which is perhaps his most careful work, and the "Cugetările" of Adina Gr. Olănescu, an original and stimulating piece of work.

As befits a Latin people, oratory has always had a great vogue in Roumania. Early Roumanian parliaments had to grapple with a series of fundamental questions, which would naturally develop eloquent speakers. Of their successors to-day, Take Jonesco is generally agreed to hold the palm; his speeches with reference to Roumania's entry into the war beside the Allies are considered perhaps the greatest of our generation. Others who distinguished themselves on that and other occasions were Nicholas

In 1907-8, when I was in the Chamberlain Dr. I. Cantacuzino, Emperor's Ambassador and Treasurer. The debate on agrarian reform involved subjects and other important political problems had developed the intellectual power and confidence of the Liberal Party. John J. C. Brătianu, Nicholas Iorga, the historian A. D. Cuza and Constantin Baneas as well as others who have now disappeared from the scene. Perhaps the chief of these was the Conservative Peter Cămpănuș, who spoke events with eloquence and authority; his colleague Alexander Marghielona, well known for his mastery combined with the clearness of his style and the elegance of his diction. Since the war many new figures from the provinces have appeared on the parliamentary platform, especially Transylvanians who had won a reputation in and outside of Hungary for the vigour and classic style of their public addresses: among them may be mentioned ex-Premier Vaida Voievod, Julius Maniu, Father Lucaci, Octavian Goga.

The Roumanian law-courts have always been schools of oratory. Law and politics are as closely allied in Roumania as with us; in fact, Roumania could do well with fewer lawyers and more engineers and business men. A large number of the most promising legal students finished their training in Paris, since Roumanian law is much the same as French (there are, however, six or eight law-codes or legal traditions in Greater Roumania!). This residence in Paris contributed greatly to the polish of the Roumanian legal orators. Of the present generation, Take Jonesco, Nicholas Titulesco, C. Arion, Constantine Cernesco and N. Mitesco are perhaps the most eloquent Roumanian lawyers as

well as political speakers; they maintain the tradition of which Eugene Statesco, Titus Maioresco and Delavrancea were among the distinguished representatives in the past.

University and Academy lectures are also the occasion of much genuine eloquence, and are thronged by the public. In fact, I was unable even to pass the threshold of the Academy when desirous of hearing Constantinesco on his discoveries in the transmission of power, or Iorga on Bessarabian history. The pre-war lectures on philosophy of Titus Maioresco and of Dumitresco Iashi were always crowded, as are to-day's of Iorga on history, P. Negulesco's on philosophy, and the law lectures of Titulesco and Istrate Micesco.

One cannot take leave of Roumanian literature without some reference to the Roumanians who have written in French or other foreign tongue. Perhaps the best-known writer on things Roumanian is the late Queen Elizabeth, whom we all know under her pseudonym of "Carmen Sylva." She did a most valuable work of popularizing Roumanian literature for the English, French and German publics. Hélène Văcăresco, though really a French poetess, has contributed much by her translations to knowledge abroad of Roumanian ballads and other poetry. The Princess Henriette Sava-Goïu ("Adrio Val"), intimate friend of Queen Marie, is also doing valuable work as a translator. The Countess de Noailles was also a Roumanian, of the Bibesco family; and Princess Martha Bibesco won a prize from the French Academy. G. Bengesco, to take another illustration, is an authority on Voltaire, and editor of the standard critical bibliography of his works. As

was said not long ago by Louis Barthou, of the French Academy: "There is no other Allied country where the French language is spoken as it is in Roumania, with so much ease, grace and force. Some weeks ago," he continued, "M. Bratiano, at a banquet where I had the honour of presiding, gave us the delightful surprise of a talk in which he spoke French such that we, hearing him, felt we could take lessons from him in the language which after all we ought to speak well ourselves." And that was no empty persiflage!

Queen Marie writes mainly in English, her native tongue. She has brought out several volumes of fairy tales and stories—"The Lily of Life," "The Dreamer of Dreams," "Ilderim" (which has recently been staged), and her brilliant apostrophe to Roumania, "My Country." During the war she wrote a series of sketches and articles, full of deep feeling, for the "Figaro," "Revue de Paris," etc. Her style is strongly tinged by the poetical influences of Roumanian and of her Roumanian environment.

It is true that a cruel and devastating war, followed by huge economic and political difficulties, has checked Roumanian literary expression. But this check will surely be only temporary. A people with the innate literary taste of the Roumanian peasant—witness his ballads and his folk-tales—and the literary ambition of the educated Roumanian, will not long remain mute. In all the discouragement of to-day, it is nevertheless clear that Roumania stands on the threshold of a vast expansion; and this stimulus will doubtless have its effect in literature also.

CHAPTER XXVI

AUDIENCES WITH THE KING AND QUEEN

Two Roumanian generals, a Roumanian diplomat, a British general and I made up the party which King Ferdinand had invited to come up from Bucharest and lunch with him, one Saturday early in November, 1919. As our train crossed the melancholy steppe, passed the ruined oil-wells of Ployesht and began climbing the narrow valley of the Prahova, between steep hillsides resplendent in every shade of red, orange and gold of the autumn leaves, one of the generals held us absorbed in his description of the fighting he had directed along that very stream. For a month after the front had broken elsewhere in that mountain chain, and after the Germans had succeeded in crossing the Danube, he managed to beat them back from this vital position, though many a regiment was actually decimated. Not till Russian weakness turned the scale did he give in and retreat.

We had left the capital at seven; the train drew in at Sinaia at eleven (75 miles, just the distance from New York to New Haven). It was such a heavenly late summer day that we decided to climb the steep hillside on foot, sending our satchels and wraps by the royal automobile which awaited us. The first few flights of steps carried us past the handsome new hotel, opened only a year or two be-

fore the war, and gutted by the Germans. We were already 2500 feet above sea-level; park-like spruce and beech woods rose steep before us, at last touching the gaunt bare cliffs, fringed with wisps of filmy cloud off the snow-banks; only a few miles further back, the peaks reach nearly 8500 feet. Down the winding road came a detachment of Alpinists, in uniforms like those of the Italian "Alpini," each with a saucy feather in his cap, and went by us to the thrilling strains of the "Sambre et Meuse." At the next turn we entered the precincts of the monastery which formed the nucleus of Sinaia, and which is built about an unfailing spring, whose waters soon join the clear grey trout-stream of the Pelesh. Those old monks had an unerring eye—whether here or at Monte Cassino or Megaspelæon—for a sightly spot in which to retire from the world. We peeped into their ancient chapel, looked at their inscriptions, and in five minutes' further walk, found ourselves before the palace, an adaptation of the chalet type, and quite appropriate to its Alpine surroundings. King Ferdinand, surrounded by several of his silky Russian wolf-hounds, was standing by the steps, talking with one of the earlier arrivals; he welcomed us cordially in English, which is the language of the royal family, and spoke at once of the pleasure with which he received any American, after all that Americans had done for Roumania. He was warm in praise of the personnel of our Red Cross, our Food Administration and our Y. M. C. A.

The only other member of the family at that moment in Sinaia, the 8-year-old Princess Ileana (Helen), was romping with a little Roumanian play-

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mate in the meadow just below the palace; at a word from her English governess, she ran gaily up, curtsied and shook hands with us, then dashed back to her game. Before we left in the evening, we paid a farewell call on her up in her nursery, with its bright frieze of Noah's Ark animals and soldiers. She took us in to see how she had already put to bed the two dollies which were to sleep with her. Her bright and neat little apartment was far less elaborate than the average nursery of a wealthy family with us, and some of her dolls were simplicity itself in manufacture. She is a keen and lively youngster, and conversation did not languish while she was present. Her brothers and sisters and she are the first generation of the Roumanian royal family to speak the language of their country from their cradle; and one of the generals assured us that the Princess Ileana would always be located by a Roumanian as belonging in the Prahova valley, as she had picked up from her playmates so many of their local idioms.

Luncheon was announced; we were fourteen at table, in a long dining-room looking out on the mountain-side, and decorated only by simply carved panels and moulding, with charming pastels of the royal family. Conical moulds of rice garnished with sausages were passed around; then came a platter of ham, mashed potatoes and water-cress, with lettuce and red cabbage salad. Cauliflower *au gratin* formed a third course, followed by ice-cream, grapes and Turkish coffee. Besides Transylvanian wine, we had delicious mountain water. I could not help thinking of the embarrassment of my Italian officer friends

and me, when we were guests of the Prince of Wales at British headquarters on the Italian front in July, 1918, and asked for water at luncheon, to find that the unusual request caused quite a commotion! My next neighbour, an English colonel, when I asked him if he thought the water there was unhealthy, said he had never inquired!

Prohibition came up in our Sinaia luncheon discussion, and King Ferdinand wanted to know if it does really prohibit; if it were not still possible for a thirsty soul to quench his thirst—an embarrassing question. When Prince Charles was in New York in July, 1920, and was asked what he thought of prohibition, he inquired innocently when it was going to begin.

After luncheon, our royal host led us out on the terrace, where the cigars (real Havanas, in a Havana-less country!) were passed around. He was greatly surprised to learn of the approaching anti-tobacco campaign, and asked if we were not making life too mechanical, too free from moral choices and too uninteresting—a rather “s’archin’” question. I was relieved to have the conversation switch to the recent elections, and hear him express his pleasure that the Peasant Party (a non-Socialist reform organization) had cast so many votes. He was proud of the fact that the elections (which took up a whole week) had passed off with no disorder.

The King gave each of us an individual audience later. As I sat beside him, I had a chance to see how deeply the cruel experiences of the past few years have drawn the lines in his face. One of the generals told us on the train that the royal family was actu-

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ally in need of food at times during the terrible winter of 1917-1918 in Moldavia, and that in his corps, whenever a lucky soldier shot a chamois, they would send it to them with their compliments. But as he talked of experiences during the war, there was no trace of bitterness; those awful memories of the days when at Jassy alone over a hundred soldiers a day were dying of typhus, have been buried by the final victory, followed as it has been by the agrarian laws, the conferring of full citizenship on the Jews, and by the successful inauguration of the parliamentary government of Greater Roumania. Few monarchs have had such an experience of life's vicissitudes as Ferdinand. In 1918, this quiet scholarly-looking gentleman was a fugitive in Moldavia. In 1919, he presided over the first Congress of the whole Roumanian people! One can only think of that other Hohenzollern who in 1918 was master of Belgium and northern France and Poland and Wallachia, as well as imperial Germany—a domain now narrowed to a few acres in Holland! Sometimes the mills of God grind rapidly, as well as exceeding small.

Roumania's Queen is one of the few heroic figures of the war in the East, who kindle one's imagination. She herself makes light of it. "It is the King who deserves the credit," she said to me. "He had the hard work, he had to suffer for all mistakes of his counsellors and the shortcomings of his Allies. As for me, I am blessed with an active mind and a rugged constitution, and being English, of course I don't know what fear is; it was easy for me to do what I have done. He worked in the shadow, I stood in the lime-light. I did what I thought was my

duty, and greatly enjoyed doing it. *Voilà tout!*" Thus lightly spoke the woman who is idolized by her people as the "mama rănitilor" (mother of the wounded, a title originally given to Carmen Sylva), and whose photograph is so familiar to all the world in her Red Cross uniform or in the native costumes which become her so well.

She had asked me to call upon her one wintry December afternoon of 1919, at the Cotroceni Palace, which lies in a park among the suburbs of Bucharest. She herself has had much to do with the remodelling of the old convent into a comfortable modern home. As I was ushered in, she tossed away a cigarette and came to meet me with cordial frankness, at once expressing the hope that America would appreciate the difficulty of the position in which Roumania found herself at that moment, and the pressure then being applied to her at Paris to incorporate into her fundamental law provisions which an independent state could hardly think of accepting. Her great comfort was that the Americans she came to know during the war all grew to be stanch friends of Roumania; she spoke with especial enthusiasm of some of the gentlemen of the Red Cross. Like Mme. Sevesco, head of the Roumanian Red Cross, she praised highly the women personnel of our organization. She spoke with gratitude and admiration of America's generosity, and of the way in which various individuals had come to Roumania's relief. As a young princess, she had formed a friendship with Loie Fuller, the dancer; and she had been greatly touched by the devotion which Miss Fuller showed in Roumania's hour of need—the desperate efforts she



KING FERDINAND AND QUEEN MARIE, (IN LOCAL COSTUME), GREETING TRANSYLVANIAN PEASANT GIRLS, MAY 25, 1919





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made to get food and equipment into the beleaguered country.

I spoke of the pride she must have felt in the great demonstration at the opening of Parliament in November, 1919, when the new deputies—Germans, Hungarians, Turks, Bulgarians, Ruthenians and Jews, as well as Roumanians—united in an overwhelming cheer, led by Prof. Iorga, the historian, of "Long Live Queen Marie!" "My people love me," she said, "and I am very fond of them. They are like my own family. I know their weaknesses as well as their good qualities and their fundamental strength. I am proud of them, and I know they have a great future before them."

The conversation turned to the Germans. She spoke of the revelation of German character which the war had brought to her. As a young woman, she had liked the Germans, while always amused by their seriousness and lack of a sense of the ludicrous. A young German relative of hers, whom she had befriended when he was small and rather neglected by his parents, had always seemed devoted to her, and had sent her frequent letters. He wrote her a typically German letter after the death of her second son, Mircea, who had succumbed to meningitis just when the German troops were smashing through the Roumanian defence and the German aëroplanes were trying to drop bombs on the royal palace. "Your son's death is a manifest judgment of God," he wrote, "for your having taken sides against Him in this war." Even down in Roumania they caught by wireless the Kaiser's proud messages that with the aid of God he was crushing his adversaries. Never,

she said, had she imagined that her being was capable of hatred such as she had felt when she was at Jassy and the Germans were exploiting Bucharest. But now that Germany had collapsed, her feelings were chiefly of pity and sorrow. She spoke of her surprise that we had banned German from our public schools, for German science and thought remain as important as ever, she thought. She hopes that Americans will help solve Roumania's pressing financial, economic and transportation problems, and did everything possible to facilitate the task of American business men, like Mr. Vauclain, who have recently visited the country.

It so happened that I could satisfy her curiosity by supplying details about President Wilson's career at Princeton and elsewhere. She had of course been immensely interested in meeting Mr. and Mrs. Wilson at Paris. Being accustomed, she said, to a Queen's privilege of leading the conversation, and not being used to having her statements discounted or contradicted, she admitted having found conversation with our President a little difficult. She was particularly puzzled by an answer of his to a question of hers. The subject of the treatment of minorities—the crux of the special treaty with Roumania—had come up, and she had asked Mr. Wilson if it was true, as she had heard, that we had a troublesome minority problem on the Pacific slope in the Japanese. “That is entirely new to me,” he said, “I have never heard of it.” Evidently Mr. Wilson's mental affection had already begun. The Queen had been impressed with Mrs. Wilson's personal charm, and the sweetness of her smile. She looks forward with

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eager curiosity to her forthcoming trip to the United States. When she comes, we shall see a stately and attractive woman, perfectly democratic, who would make an excellent American.

None of the older children were in Roumania when I was there. Prince Charles (Carol), heir to the throne, was off in Transylvania with his regiment. He had made an unfortunate marriage with an attractive and ambitious Bucharest girl, of an old Greek family, instead of the alliance with a princess of some friendly state which is *de rigueur*. In 1920, he was sent by King Ferdinand to Japan with a decoration for the Mikado, and passed through the United States on his return to Europe. He impressed those who met him as a bright and observant young man, energetic and ambitious for his country. In the spring of 1921, he married Princess Helen of Greece.

CHAPTER XXVII

SOME NOTABLES OF BUCHAREST

EX-PREMIER AND MME. BRATIANO

RARELY have I felt more at home in a strange land than on the several occasions I was privileged to have lunch or tea with the Bratianos, in their charming and typically Roumanian mansion. Mme. Bratiano, who was a Princess Shtirbey, is a remarkable housekeeper. The servant question is perhaps acuter in Bucharest than anywhere else, and she had finally come to do much of the cooking and housework herself. Each time I lunched there, we had the simple national dish—corn meal mush—as our first course, either plain or *au gratin*. They were much interested to hear of its vogue with us in the United States. When I told them that my family preferred it fried, with maple syrup (which is of course totally unknown in Europe), they found it a “*drôle d'idée*.” Mme. Bratiano, by the way, speaks admirable English, but her husband prefers to keep to French, which all cultivated Roumanians speak like their mother tongue. And as for her apple-sauce, I have never tasted its superior even in my native Massachusetts hills. I thought she must have put pears in it, but she assured me it was nothing but apples and a little sugar and lemon—their own apples, which partly accounts for it. And she carries her energy and efficiency into every sphere. She is the leading spirit

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in the "Albina" (Bee), a society which encourages household arts among the peasants, and has a sales-room in the Shtirbey palace. She herself has one of the finest private collections of Roumanian costumes in the world; and she has spent four years over the coloured plates, drawn with extraordinary accuracy, which are destined to illustrate a book of hers describing its finest pieces. We were talking one day about the Bulgarian situation, and I spoke of the influence our American Robert College had in Bulgaria and in keeping us from declaring war on that country. "Why don't you Americans found a similar institution here in Bucharest?" she asked. "We would welcome it, and it would prove a blessing to both countries." She even thought it might become self-supporting.

Mme. Bratiano is dark and rather petite; her husband, the redoubtable ex-Premier and head of the Liberal Party, is a tall man, with a wealth of dark hair and beard streaked with grey. His father was the Premier who in 1877 refused to allow the Russians to pass through Roumania till they had formally given their word (promptly to be broken!) to respect the territorial integrity of Roumania; and he has inherited the same proud independence of thought and manner. One of his political enemies compared him to me with a Turkish sultan, impatient of opposition and ruthless in his attacks; but I was impressed with the affectionate devotion shown by his friends, like the late Mr. Danielopol, of the Roumanian National Bank, who considered him one of the greatest living European statesmen.

If Bratiano ever publishes his memoirs, they will

be most interesting. He is one of the few who have crossed swords with Clemenceau and not been annihilated.

EX-PREMIER MARGHILOMAN

"By the way: where do you generally eat?" Mr. Marghiloman asked me as I was taking leave after my first luncheon there; and when I told him I was experimenting with the various restaurants of Bucharest, he said: "Just come here and lunch with us whenever you have the time and inclination. We always keep open house for our friends. Often at a quarter to one, my wife and I are alone, not knowing whether we shall have a single guest—and we sit down ten or twelve at table, which is a great gratification to us." Roumanian hospitality is as generous as our own and how many of us issue such blanket invitations? The friend who took me there the first time had laughed at my objection that I had never met the Marghilomans, and had naturally not been invited; and only after much urging on my part did he consent at least to telephone that we were coming!

Mr. Marghiloman is a typical hearty English squire in appearance, with side-whiskers, and hair so little grey that it is impossible, active and youthful as he seems, to believe him a man nearly 70. He has just married, as his second wife, a handsome young woman under 30, who presides charmingly over the magnificent palace which is Casa Marghiloman. He is one of the wealthiest men in Roumania, and however much he is abused for having been Premier under the Germans, every one respects him for his



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probity, in a country where public men are only too often of our ward politician type. He is one of a group which comprised many of the most distinguished men in Roumania, who believed that the only safeguard against further Russian aggression was a rapprochement with Germany and Austria, also menaced by Russian imperialism. Like Sonnino in Italy, he succeeded in getting from Austria the promise of a part of the Roumanian Irredenta, the lower part of the Bucovina, with Suceava, resting-place of the Moldavian princes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and from Czernin and Tisza the promise of autonomy for the Transylvania Roumanians. Up to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution and our entrance into the war, the whole course of the war justified his policy, as a practical measure. At present he takes no active part in politics, though an unsuccessful candidate for the Senate from Constantza in 1921, but his views are sought by many, and much comment was recently caused when, at a meeting of the Jockey Club (of which he is the leading spirit), King Ferdinand came over and had a long talk with him. In spite of his years, he is a factor still to be reckoned with in Roumanian public life, and is much talked of as a possible future Premier in case of the fall of Gen. Averesco. But I, like hundreds of others, shall think of him chiefly as the delightful host, showing his wonderful Oriental rugs, and describing the homesickness of the Roumanian in the mists of Paris or London, for the wind-swept plains, the bold mountain ridges, and the deep blue sky of Roumania—the most wholly satisfactory country to live in, he thinks, that the Lord ever created.

TAKE JONESCO

Take Jonesco is another of the perpetually young men of Roumania. Though over 60, he looks well under 50. He is considered the most brilliant lawyer in Roumania, and makes a princely income from his practice—when he practises; for politics, particularly international politics, is the breath of his nostrils. He is never happy except when in a fight, and he is fighting all the time. In many ways he reminds an American of Roosevelt, of what Roosevelt might have become had he devoted himself to international, rather than national politics.

Take Jonesco is proud of the fact that he belongs to the middle class—the *petite bourgeoisie*. His mother belonged to a family of Macedonian origin, and was related to the distinguished writer Eliade Rădulesco. His three brothers have all had brilliant careers; one, now dead, was a Paris LL.D., senator, and Director of the School of Political Science at Bucharest; another, Dr. Thomas Jonesco, has made important medical improvements, and has just become one of Roumania's representatives in the League of Nations; the third, Victor Jonesco, was a deputy and Minister to Portugal. Take Jonesco himself received his doctorate in law after six years of study at Paris; and on his return to Roumania, plunged into politics, beginning in the Liberal Party as a lieutenant of Bratiano. But after a few years he found this association irksome and began the independent career which has made him always a redoubtable opponent, and for that matter often a

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necessary coadjutor, in the personal combinations of Roumanian politics. He was associated for years with the Conservatives, and is now head of the so-called Democratic Party, which consists largely of Take Jonesco; but he knows how to hit off the popular demand, has struggled earnestly for improved conditions for the lower classes, has always stood for a square deal for the Jews and the Moslems, and is intensely interested in the international policy of a Balkan *bloc*—the Balkans for the inhabitants of the Balkan countries. He was a warm friend of Venizelos and of Pashitch, and has a wide acquaintance in France and England (his first wife, who died recently, was an Englishwoman). He was opposed to the Roumanian course of resistance at Paris during 1919, as he was opposed to the Treaty of Bucharest of 1918. After the Liberal defeat in the first elections of Greater Roumania, he became a prominent candidate (as indeed he has been for many years) for the Premiership. After the Vaida Premiership, the popular and highly esteemed Gen. Averesco, the hero of Mărăsheshti, became Prime Minister, and took Take Jonesco into his cabinet in the spring of 1920. He has been temporarily Minister of Finance, and holds (1921) the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs. His enemies will tell you that he is absolutely unscrupulous, ambitious to the n'th degree, and a highly dangerous man; his friends have a remarkable record of political achievement to point to. In any case, his eloquence, attainments and talent make him a force to reckon with in the new Roumania, and his wide experience puts him in the first rank of contemporary international politicians. Per-

sonally, he is a delightful and interesting companion, and a fascinating talker.

DR. ANTIPA

The scientific world has long known Roumania through the achievement of a group of scholars connected with the Roumanian Academy, the University and other institutions in Bucharest. Among them are the incredibly prolific historical scholar, and energetic leader, Prof. N. Iorga; Dr. Mrazec, the distinguished head of the Geological Institute; Prof. Tzigara-Samurcash, director of the Ethnographical Museum, with its treasures of Roumanian costumes (over 1200), pottery, wood-carving, etc.; and Dr. Gregory Antipa, who has made the Natural History Museum of Bucharest a model for the whole world. He himself would perhaps rather be considered as an authority on fish culture and the best utilization of the lower Danube; but he is most widely known as the creator of this remarkable museum, which has been visited by many million people. Long before our Museum of Natural History in New York had installed its groups of animals in their natural surroundings, Dr. Antipa had devised a series of such groups, showing the fauna and flora of the various regions and zones of Roumania, from the Carpathian glens with their wolves and bears and eagles, to the Danube marshes full of storks and pelicans and even flamingoes. Spacious and beautifully lighted, these groups are on the whole the most effective and educational I have seen anywhere; those in the new Museum of the State University of Iowa are

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the only ones I know that are comparable to them. As one walks through the museum, one sees everywhere the evidence of his care and thought; here it is a fish-eagle's nest, sawed off and brought up in its tree-top, in a special box-car; there it is one of the few okapis in existence; now the largest wild-boar ever killed near Bucharest—some 650 pounds. Dr. Antipa was trained under Dr. Dohrn at Naples and was Haeckel's assistant at Jena for ten years; and he has carried out in the museum the principles of his teachers by providing a series of biological and pathological exhibits, so that even a child can follow the evolution of the anthropoid apes, for instance, and of the human species.

Politics enters every sphere in Roumania; or perhaps it would be fairer to say that the restricted number of highly educated men has brought them into the service of the state more generally than is the case with us. Dr. Antipa has been in one or other ministry over a quarter of a century; he was Minister of Agriculture under the Germans, and I have narrated elsewhere the story of his protest to Mackensen over the requisition system. He is heart and soul in the movement to improve cultivation, especially in the Danube region. He has always found time for much writing; and his latest book, on the evolution of the Roumanian peasant, is most stimulating. His hospitable wife and he are at home to their friends every afternoon at tea-time, among the beautiful rugs and paintings which adorn their rooms over the museum; and I think I have never met a more constantly interesting succession of intellectual men and women than on my frequent visits

to the Antipas. Both Dr. and Mme. Antipa have travelled in the United States, and his Danube researches have been utilized for our own regulation of the Mississippi and other streams. Such men and women as Dr. and Mme. Antipa are the best type of the Roumanian; the influence that they and others like them exert on the rising generation is Roumania's best hope.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AMERICAN AID IN ROUMANIA. THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION. OBSERVATIONS OF AN AMERICAN BUSINESS MAN

THROUGH the kindness of Prof. Thomas H. Dickinson of the American Relief Administration, and Mr. Edward W. Coffin, of the American Red Cross, I have been given official summaries of the work of these two organizations in Roumania, and this chapter is based upon these official documents. I quote verbatim wherever possible, since the different point of view is extremely valuable, though I feel that here and there it shows our American failure to make necessary allowances, and overquickness to generalize. A person who has never lived in a foreign country, and speaks no language but English, is all the more apt to make general statements from insufficient data.

"The American Relief Administration work in Roumania has included activities not only in Old Roumania, but in Transylvania, Bessarabia, the Dobrogea, and part of the Banat. The almost complete collapse of relations between Roumania and the outside world which existed early in 1919, as well as internal dislocation of means of transport, communication, etc., caused shortages throughout Roumania which could be overcome only by the re-establishment of trade and economic conditions and by an interval of actual

distribution of foodstuffs to tide over until the harvest of 1919 the people who were in actual want. . . .

"The existing conditions in agriculture and food supply resulted largely from two causes: in areas occupied by the Germans the country was pillaged and all kinds of supplies extorted from the inhabitants. In the country retained by the Roumanians supplies were exhausted because of the excessive population imposed upon the area—native population, Roumanian refugees, Roumanian army, Russian army, and Russian refugees. Furthermore, Roumania's main sources of income, from the export of oil, salt and wheat, were of course entirely cut off. Transportation was entirely disorganized and that part of the rolling stock not taken by the enemy was in a deplorable condition.

"Preliminary investigation, early in 1919, showed that there were not sufficient foodstuffs in the country to carry the population from the summer until the next crop could be harvested. It was also demonstrated that the advice and assistance of Americans would be necessary in order to enable the Government to . . . make the most of its facilities. . . . Unless outside assistance in the way of foodstuffs were brought in, starvation on a large scale would ensue. Though surpluses of foodstuffs existed in nearby countries, lack of transportation rendered it impossible to obtain these foodstuffs, even if the best relations had existed between these neighbouring countries. Such relations did not exist and do not exist at present. Each country looks with suspicion on its neighbours. There is uncertainty as to their final boundaries. Each country hesitates to send rolling-stock within the boundaries of its neighbour, for fear it will never return. No agreement can be had on the relative values of the currency of the neighbouring countries. With all this confusion, the interior situation of the country was in a bad condition. Telegraph and telephone lines had been stripped. No instruments existed. Slight surpluses even in one part of Roumania could not be moved to another part. People in those

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localities where food existed buried it and concealed surpluses. The Germans had removed the farming implements and much of the reserve stocks of the country. The Roumanian Government, either from lack of interest in the peasant, who comprises 4/5 of the population, or through lack of power, seemed unable to cope with the situation. Discontent and unrest were increasing and the Bolshevism and revolution which existed in neighbouring countries were a constant menace.

"The agreement entered into on Feb. 28, 1919, with the Roumanian Government provided that the American Relief Administration should make every effort to deliver foodstuffs during February and March and if possible up to Aug. 1, 1919. Food shipments were to be covered by U. S. Treasury Loans to the purchasing government. . . .

"In spite of difficulties and misunderstandings as to its real object, the Mission has constantly maintained its non-partisan and humanitarian character, and has been able to accomplish most satisfactory results, so that except for concluding the distribution of foodstuffs and continuing the Children's Relief Work, the original programme has been entirely carried out.

"Opposition in economic reconstruction has been met with through the unwillingness of the Roumanians to deal with the Serbs, and vice versa; through the difficulty of dealing with a Government where profiteering is so much practised; and through difficulties in communication largely due to ideas on the part of some that we must be seeking commercial advantages for America. In general the Mission has the confidence of the Roumanians, and through the personal good will and aid of the men in power, has been able to get its work done." (Here Col. Haskell is altogether too modest. I heard the work of the Commission most gratefully acknowledged by the Roumanians on all sides.)

"Old Roumania was about the size of Pennsylvania, with about 14,000,000 acres under cultivation and a population

of about 8,000,000 people. The greater part of this population is composed of illiterate peasants. Only about 1,500,000 people live in cities, the remainder being agricultural. Before the war this population was sufficiently down-trodden, but owing to war-time conditions, and especially owing to the free hand which the profiteering minority has had, their condition had in many regions become pitiable.

"In some places, notably along the Danube, people were actually forced to eat grass and leaves until the arrival of the American foodstuffs, and yet without the active force of the American Relief workers it is unlikely that the ruling class or Government would have ever conceived of any adequate relief programme. One is constantly struck by the heartless indifference to suffering displayed by those in well-to-do circumstances. . . .

"Throughout all these districts the relief work was able to prevent, in very large measure, the starvation conditions that existed during the past spring and summer, and the present crop reports indicate that if the Roumanians themselves will take charge of transportation and distribution of the coming harvest in a proper way, there need be no further want, even if there be no surplus for export.

"There is no reason why a country of such enormous natural resources as Roumania, resources which have been more than doubled by the acquisition of Transylvania and other new territory, should not in the hands of a reasonably honest government, re-establish its commercial system in an extremely short time.

"There are signs of unrest everywhere. In the south they are largely due to the food and land conditions, the new programme of dividing up large land-holdings causing the peasant not to wish to work until he knows for whom he is working. In the north the unrest is caused by the new régime, the unwillingness of a large part of the population to come under Roumanian rule, and the fact that the Roumanians treat these people not as once lost brothers returning

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to the parent roof, but as conquered subjects to be subjugated and exploited. It would seem as if the immediate future of the country depends on the policy which the Government will follow out. A strong, honest policy which will frankly and openly do its utmost to re-establish normal conditions and diplomatically amalgamate the new elements may rapidly succeed in building up the country, whereas if the present conditions of selfish interest continue there is no telling when a break may come."

A Bucharest friend comments on the above (1920):

"Had we not already in the autumn of 1919 a Vaida Ministry where the lost brothers had it all their own sweet way and hasn't the Government been weak enough now to assent to the exchange of the crowns on the basis of 2 for 1 leu, when the real rate should have been rather 3 or perhaps $3\frac{1}{2}$ for 1, thus making to the Transylvanians a present of a couple of billions at the expense of the whole community? . . . The statement about exploitation of the poor by the rich is equally amazing after the different expropriations which have been going on since 1907, the proprietors being paid about half, $\frac{1}{3}$ or less of the real market price; I know from personal experience! No, my country's malady is not due to profiteering by the rich, but to two unfortunate traditions—demagogy and the yellow press." Alas, of how many other countries is that not true! "As for the educational system, it was one of the most democratic in Europe—a continuous free system from primary school to university (no separation, as in France, Belgium or Great Britain). We lacked school-houses, but 1500 were under construction when the war broke out. Furthermore, *all* our hospitals (up to the war) were supported by charitable gifts and bequests; this is, I think, unique on the Continent. The

'Spital Brâncovanesc' was ranked among the best in our quarter of Europe.

"In relief work, the Mission has co-operated as far as possible with existing Roumanian organizations, and in dealing with Children's Relief, the Mission has founded the Roumanian Children's Relief Association, now nationalized under the name of 'Prince Mircea Society,' under the patronage of the Queen, with the hope that the work, once established, may go on as a permanent children's welfare organization after the American supervision is withdrawn.

"The Mission is at present (1919) giving one meal a day to 202,800 children in 531 canteens all over Roumania. . . .

"The American Relief Administration provided a programme of relief which met and saved this situation. It did more than it had hoped to be able to do when the programme started. The Roumanian government officials co-operated in the distribution of these foodstuffs. Constant supervision of distribution by Americans was necessary to prevent misuse of supplies.

"The transportation of the country has made considerable improvement but is still in a very disorganized condition, owing principally to the lack of organization—especially of the railway shops. Surpluses of salt, lumber and oil products exist, but economic life is not restored.

"The crops now being harvested will carry the country throughout the ensuing year, and it is probable the harvest of 1920 will provide large exports of wheat and other cereals. The educational system of the country is not good, and in most districts it does not exist except on paper.

"The danger of Bolshevism is not imminent, owing to the fact that the population is agricultural (but Russia is certainly an agricultural country, and in Bulgaria, the Bolsheviks are a large and redoubtable party. C. U. C.) Prices of commodities are very high. This applies even to the necessities of life. In general, the peasant and the poor are

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exploited by the officials and the rich. Censorship of the press is very strict. (When I was there in the Fall of 1919, there was no visible censorship of the press, except as regards Bolshevistic articles and the Communist Party; otherwise I may say I have never read such extravagantly vituperative matter, on every side, as in the Bucharest papers; they did not even spare the royal family, and various morning and evening papers ran columns every day about Prince Charles' unfortunate marriage. Their libel law allows you to say anything you please about your opponent, but you must furnish him space for a rejoinder, and must print it in full. C. U. C.). The entire control of the government is in the hands of a few.

"The King and Queen of Roumania have always shown the greatest interest in relief work, and they have shown a very democratic spirit at all times. They stood ready at all times to bring their influence to bear where it was necessary, and there is no doubt that they have always worked honestly and tirelessly to improve the conditions in their country and to relieve the suffering of the down-trodden. The welfare of the entire people seems their greatest concern."

In a report of May 21, 1919, Col. Haskell contributes other valuable matter, which I am glad to be able to quote:

"It is now unnecessary that further cargoes of foodstuffs be sent to Roumania, inasmuch as the United States has completed its programme. The Roumanian Mission should complete the work in hand in regard to imports, complete the firm establishment of the Roumanian Children's Relief Association, and prepare to withdraw when this has been accomplished.

"There is great activity at all Roumanian ports. A great many cargoes of general supplies are being received at Braila,

Galatz and Sulina. We are beginning to use the port of Sulina, where the facilities seem to be good and where the ships are unloaded directly into lighters and taken up the Danube to various railheads. In crossing the Dobrogea I carefully observed the food situation, and believe that it has improved considerably owing to the flour imports and the fact that vegetables are now becoming available.

"To date (May 21, 1919) 49 canteens have been established by the Roumanian Children's Relief Association. Ten of these are functioning and 35 will be functioning by May 27. At present the Roumanian Children's Relief Association is actually feeding 2890 children and nursing mothers. (Of these about 50 are nursing mothers.) We are also supplying fats to be used in soups for 6000 children. These canteens are operated by the Roumanian Red Cross (I visited a couple in Bucharest, and found that the stew provided was both nutritious and good, and that a sharp lookout for impostors was kept. C. U. C.). Each canteen has been supplied with a table giving stated amounts of foodstuffs necessary to make up meals of 750 calories for 100 children for one week.

"The Roumanian Children's Relief Association has established a well-equipped office at Hotel Central, Strada Carol, Bucharest. The Roumanian Government, on May 20, contributed 100,000 lei to the Roumanian Children's Relief Association. The Association has authority to draw necessary expense money from the Prefect in each district. The amount of these funds vary from 100,000 to 300,000 lei monthly. Private donations were started by Princess Cantacuzene of the Central Committee by a donation, on May 20, of 5,000 lei.

"It is estimated that with the foodstuffs on hand and en route taken as a whole, the Roumanian Children's Relief Association can feed 432,000 children at 750 calories per meal for three months. If found expedient to reduce meals to 500 calories we can feed 580,000. Taking infants sepa-

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ately, we can feed more than 790,000 for this period. Our policy is to so cover Roumania with a network of Roumanian organizations for Children's Relief that it will make no difference when we pull out of this country. Our main idea has been to make a self-reliant Roumanian organization which will endure. . . .

"There is a general improvement in the food conditions throughout Roumania. A large amount of food formerly hidden is beginning to appear and prices are beginning to fall, thanks to the assurance of a plentiful harvest and to the confidence that the country now finds itself in a situation where there is no doubt of its ability to maintain itself until the harvest. The crops are in fine condition and sufficient for the needs of the people for the coming year.

"Col. Billington of the British Army and Capt. Flaherty of the Mission are working for the improvement of transportation. Their main effort at the present time is directed toward the reorganization of the principal railroad repair shops in Roumania, which they find in a disorganized condition. The main difficulty in the shops seems to be the disorganization of the labour. The employees work or do not work as they see fit. It was found on a recent inspection that the directors of the shops were so helpless that they could obtain no results from their labourers. The directors of the shops even declined to accompany our officers, Allied officers, on an inspection trip through the works for fear that they would be mobbed. Col. Billington is trying to overcome these difficulties by various means, especially by seeing that the railroad labourers are properly fed. A great improvement is looked for."

In this connection, it is interesting to give the impressions produced on a practical American manufacturer, of these same shops a year later (April 7, 1920). He writes:

"We were met at the shops by the Minister of Public Works. Unfortunately, we arrived at the time the men were going home. It seems they go to work at 7:30 and work until 11:30, return at 1:30 and work until 5:30. We found that they had all quit 10 to 15 minutes before time and upon returning most of them were about 15 minutes late. I found Gen. Macri did not enjoy this very much and said he would make a change. He explained that it was due to political interference and he said he would put a stop to it or resign.

"I had the pleasure of giving the Minister of Public Works a very complete lecture upon how to run a workshop and how to handle workmen. I illustrated by throwing some money on the ground and which the men all ran after to pick up. This explained very forcibly the fact that everybody would scramble to pick up money, but that nobody there seemed to have the slightest desire to pick the machinery laying around, all over the shop floor, each piece of which was more valuable than any of the money which I had scattered. They all saw the point at once, and thought it was a good way to demonstrate the reckless manner in which they were handling things. The Minister answered that they would be corrected at once and thanked me for the illustration, saying that they had never before thought of it in that light. I explained to them our contract system, and also urged upon them to be careful not to ask more workmen to work piece work than necessary, but to only allow those workmen who had sufficient brains to do piece work.

"I cannot describe to you the delight these men took in having their faults unfolded to them . . . Gen. Macri advised me that it had been most beneficial to all, and that he would order that evening 1,000 soldiers to put the house in order and that he would then photograph it, and send me a picture to show me the shops at Bucharest were being properly taken care of and without extravagance. . . .

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"There is nothing under God's heaven that can do more good than to provide these people with locomotives, and they will pay their debts; and, in my judgment, anticipate the payments which we have exacted from them." Of Gen. Averesco, the Prime Minister, and his Ministry, this same American business man says: "He is a remarkable man, a man of the people, a general of the highest rank and his soldiers worship him. During the most trying times of the war, not one single Roumanian soldier turned Bolshevik, while hundreds of thousands of Russians alongside them threw down their arms and deserted, and made tracks to Russia to participate in a division of the spoils at home. I cannot say too much in favour of the present Ministry. They are all solid, substantial men and appreciate sincerely our coming to Roumania for the purpose, if possible, of arriving at a business agreement with them. We have now created a foundation for future business which should continue." This gentleman was permitted to ride the locomotive out of Bucharest, and observes: "The road-bed was in perfect order. In fact, all the road-beds throughout this country are in excellent order. The cars are plentiful, need some repairs. Immense purchases of car wheels and axles must be made. . . . Locomotive driving tires, also, are needed in great quantities."

To return to Col. Haskell's report:

"The situation between the Bolsheviks and Roumanians in Bessarabia remains unchanged. Whenever the Bolsheviks get drunk they shoot across the river Nistru (i. e. Dniester), whereupon the Roumanians open fire across the river and the Bolsheviks quit. The civilians are more or less inconvenienced by the shooting and the better class have sent their families away. Communication between the Roumanian Army and the Bolsheviks goes on across the river, which is

not wide. The Bolsheviks state, after each little action, that they now want to live in peace. Recently the Bolsheviks arrested four spies sent out by Col. Theodoresco. When the latter demanded their release and threatened to fire on the city of Iampol with his artillery, they were released. . . ."

To sum up: "The first head of the American Relief Mission to Roumania was Capt. Joseph C. Green, who went out in February (1919) and established headquarters at Bucharest, with branch offices at Constantza, Galatz and Braila. In April Col. William N. Haskell assumed charge of the Mission upon the appointment of Capt. Green as Chief of the Mission to Armenia. There were some fifty or more Americans attached to the Mission in various capacities. The chief activities of the Mission were in food research in the various districts of Roumania, in association with the government, in administration of relief enterprises, in co-operation with the various other governments of the Allies represented on the Inter-Allied Food Mission, in encouraging the exchange of commodities whereby the economic and food situation of Roumania might be improved, the administration of the remittance plan for the facilitating of transfers of money from the United States to Roumania, and work in Children's Relief.

"Work in Children's Relief was of the first importance. The first allotment of funds by Mr. Hoover in behalf of the American Relief Administration for Roumania amounted to a value of \$220,000. During April this was increased to \$500,000 as a gift from the United States to the children of Roumania. Capt. Joseph C. Green was first appointed to take charge of Children's Relief. The Queen of Roumania became president of the national organization of Children's Relief, and on the executive committee there were represented various members of the ministry of Roumania, and representatives of the American Red Cross in Roumania and of the Allied Governments.

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"During the latter part of April, Her Majesty the Queen appointed a national committee consisting of six members, and district committees were appointed in various parts of Roumania. Later Lt.-Col. L. G. Ament was placed in charge of Children's Relief Work. On May 18 the Roumanian Government donated 100,000 lei to the Roumanian Children's Relief Administration. . . . In the early summer of 1919 the organization became national in character under a decree by the King of Roumania. The name was changed to the 'Association Prince Mircea' for the protection of children in Roumania. . . .

"The total relief supplied from Dec. 1, 1918 to August 31, 1919, by the Allied and Associated Governments to Roumania amounted to 244,000 tons of foodstuffs of an approximate value of \$60,000,000. Of this total a little less than half was supplied by the United States. About 1500 tons of foodstuffs were supplied gratis by the Administration to the children of Roumania. Funds for this Children's Relief work were provided from the Congressional funds for relief; the funds in support of credit operations for Roumania were derived from Treasury advances.

"To round out the Roumanian requirements in addition to the foodstuffs supplied by the American Relief Administration, the Canadian Treasury made an appropriation for credit operations in Roumania until the end of the cereal year."

This plain straightforward recital gives very little idea of the difficulties surmounted. The whole operation reflects the greatest credit on the organizing abilities and the tact of Capt. Green and Col. Haskell and their aides. I know from several talks which I was privileged to have with Col. Ament before his departure from Bucharest, that he was immensely impressed with the Roumanian people and

the possibilities of the country, and he felt that a fortune was to be made by the American with capital who would come in and help develop the new Roumania.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WORK OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN ROUMANIA

HERE again I am enabled to quote verbatim from a special report kindly prepared for this book by Mr. Edw. W. Coffin of the National Headquarters. He says:

"The A. R. C. (i. e. American Red Cross) Commission to Roumania reached Galatz Feb. 25, 1919, on the Roumanian steamship *Imperatul Traian*, carrying about five to six hundred tons of assorted supplies, 20 automobiles and a personnel of 54 people. The steamship *Jiul* arrived in Galatz a day ahead with 300 tons of supplies. These were the first two ships to reach Roumania from the west after the Dardanelles was opened. Maj. Bayne and Capt. Payne arrived in Roumania a month previous and had arranged for warehouses at Galatz and Bucharest, as well as for an office and for living quarters in Bucharest. In addition, Capt. Payne had already established a canteen at Galatz. The small personnel available limited the number of centers that could be established to 10; four of these were started right away at Constantza, Galatz, Focshani and Bucharest and in ten days after their arrival the workers were distributing supplies in these four centers.

"In March, 1919, Dr. Bayne and Dr. Farwell made a thorough survey of medical conditions within a fifty mile radius of Bucharest. A thorough house to house visit was the only way that they could be sure that they were really getting facts. There was no question but that there was far more need of relief in the villages than there was in the large

cities. Particularly in Bucharest, the Roumanians had already attempted relief on a large scale. The worst districts were those where the hardest fighting had taken place and of these the Dobrudja was said to be the worst of all, for this was ravaged by the Bulgarians. The extreme western and northern parts of old Roumania seemed to need relatively little relief and Transylvania and other lands recently taken from Hungary, no need at all. (It is interesting to get this testimony, as contrasted with the wails of the Hungarian religious propaganda. C. U. C.). It was very hard to get any reliable information about Bessarabia, but judging from prices current there, things were pretty bad. In the southern part of Dobrudja, with a mixed population of Bulgarians, Turks, Tartars, Germans, etc., conditions were not as bad as in the central and northern parts where almost no crops had been sown and there was an almost total lack of horses, machinery and tools.

"The A. R. C. workers found many districts where for weeks the peasants had had nothing to eat but grass roots, cabbage roots, weeds, etc. Many had died from absolute starvation. This was especially true in Dobrudja along the Danube and near Bucharest, also in many villages back in the mountains. Partial starvation resulting in such deficiency diseases as pellagra, waldropsy, eye troubles, and a lowered resistance to tuberculosis and other diseases, was wide-spread. Food Administration flour had reached the cities in sufficient quantities to keep the population alive, but little of flour reached the country towns. In Bucharest, living was very expensive, a simple luncheon costing \$4 and a dinner at least five or six dollars. (By the Fall of 1919, prices must have fallen, and one got more lei for a dollar; I lunched and dined well, with wine, for \$1.50 or \$2. C. U. C.)

"There was a shortage of clothing in all parts of old Roumania especially in the areas invaded by the Bulgarians. This was especially true around Bucharest.

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" In Roumania the chief national relief organization is the War Orphan Society. It is doing excellent work, especially in Moldavia, where they are caring for about 100,000 war orphans, mostly by subsidizing families in which the orphans are placed. In Moldavia there are also about 25 orphanages containing about 5000 orphans. These are well organized, but they were extremely short of supplies until furnished with five carloads by the A. R. C.

" About the end of April, 1919, the personnel consisted of five Americans in the administration office, two in the Department of Public Information, three in medical relief work, two in dental relief, nine in the accounting department, twenty-seven in civilian relief, two in transportation and four in the supply department, a total of 54.

" On the 13th of May Col. Anderson said that since the arrival of the Roumanian unit late in February, they had spread out so that now they were virtually covering the whole country; that they had units in nearly all of the centers and that each of these was taking care of from 30 to 40 villages. The Minister of Commerce told him that but for the A. R. C., of which he was most enthusiastic in his praises, and the distribution of food by the Food Commission, there would undoubtedly have been serious disorders and a very large amount of starvation. The result was that by May the feeling of Roumanian people toward the A. R. C. was one of almost pathetic gratitude and he went on to say that America was easily the most popular of all the nations in Roumania.

" At Galatz the original cantine was opened in February, 1919, and by March 1st was feeding 750 people a day. A second cantine was opened about March 1st in the poorer quarter of Galatz which fed 600 people the first day and was shortly feeding 1000 a day. Clothing was turned over to the Public Assistant's Committee for distribution in Galatz. They started this work the end of March.

" In Focshani Maj. Twose had organized the civilian re-

lief work by March, so that it was in full swing. All of the clothing available had already been distributed and some was asked for. A soup kitchen was actively at work. In this region where destruction was considerable the coöperation of the local government was all that could be desired. The materials were sent for by the mayors and transported, when needed, in ox-carts, then the A. R. C. personnel followed in a Ford truck to do the distribution. The local officials would have the lists all ready and the people assembled so that the whole process was carried through in perfect order.

"In addition to the first four centers, new centers were established by the end of March in Piteshti, Buzeu, Biliureshti and Potlogi. To reach the devastated Danube district, the commission had secured a steam yacht and a scow with which supplies were distributed along the river. As the Roumanians were doing a great deal of relief work in Bucharest and none in the adjacent towns where conditions were much worse, the A. R. C. extended its work into the adjacent Ilfov district and especially southeast in the direction of Oltenitza where the worst conditions were found. The methods of food distribution were two—cantine or soup kitchens and direct distribution. Where possible, soup kitchens were established and a generous portion of rich soup given daily, together with bread or cornmeal mush (mamaliga) when possible. They aimed to introduce enough fats to help meet the great deficiency in the diet and with their stock of desiccated vegetables, macaroni and beans, provided a dish resembling a stew (and very good it was. C. U. C.). Food was furnished only to people certified by the authorities as in need, and checked by the A. R. C. representatives. By the middle of May they were maintaining 114 soup kitchens and 12 cantines. Food was given only to women, children and men unable to work. During the month of April in the eleven cantines then in operation, 990,164 meals were served.

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"Clothing distribution was based largely on the needs observed in the soup kitchen and food distribution work. During the month of April in the 11 stations, 70,149 people were provided with clothing by the A. R. C. Shoes were distributed to students in the universities and men crippled in the war. During April the number of communities reached from each center was greatly increased. Furthermore, they succeeded in getting help to many hospitals that they had not been able to reach before.

"Each of the 11 stations in Roumania took care of villages within a radius of 100 kilometers (62 miles). Usually all of the work had to be done by one Ford truck with rubber tires. In consideration of this fact, the amount of ground covered and the number of people helped is astounding.

"At Grosti there were many women and children who had practically no clothing except old rags. Every woman seemed to have about five children and all were pale and thin and all of the babies were crying, a most miserable, depressed-looking lot. School children without exception were colorless and had heavy dark circles under their eyes. The school teacher was buying bread out of her own salary to give the children, often the only food they had during the day. In the two vocational schools for girls the work was almost at a standstill due to lack of materials except that some of the girls were embroidering on miserable old scraps of cloth.

"A study of the medical situation in Roumania showed that in old Roumania, with a population of 7,500,000 people, there were about 1200 doctors, whereas in Serbia, with 4,000,000 people, there were about 100 doctors. It was therefore decided to concentrate on the supplying of medicines, hospital clothing, bedding and surgical supplies and not to try to have any doctors or nurses supplementing the work of the native doctors and nurses in Roumania. Therefore the medical personnel was limited to a director of medical relief, a physician and a dentist for the A. R. C. per-

sonnel and for emergency relief work. No nursing work was done. They ordered drugs up to the limit of their appropriation, but up to the middle of May they had only received 105,000 francs' worth, a stock about large enough to care for 1000 beds for a year. In addition, there was a fairly good supply of surgical dressings. Investigation showed that there was a great shortage of antiseptics of all kinds, antipyretics, mercurials, arsenicals, sulphurs, cardiac stimulants, narcotics, iodides, bromides and laxatives of all sorts. All of the hospitals were almost without surgical dressings, rubber goods and surgical instruments. The Germans and Bulgarians had carried off nearly everything, including the bedding. Maj. Breckenridge Bayne, who was the Director of Medical Relief, had previously, during the war, spent two years in Roumania. He devoted most of his attention to a health campaign in several of the worst districts of Roumania. Most of the distribution of medical supplies was done directly by the Commissioner to Roumania.

" During the beginning of the war, Roumania was ravaged by an epidemic of cholera accompanied by an epidemic of relapsing fever. This was followed in the winter of 1917 by a terrific epidemic of spotted typhus. The cholera was soon stopped by vaccination, but under the frightful conditions of destitution, lack of housing, lack of supplies and extremely cold weather, the other two diseases ran their course despite all that could be done to check them. From these epidemics nearly 200,000 people died in Moldavia alone. There are no figures available for the rest of the country but they were very high. Typhus has persisted in Roumania with ups and downs ever since. It was quite severe during the winter of 1918 and 1919 when the population was suffering greatly for lack of clothing, food and especially of soap. There was very little typhoid, also little scarletina and diphtheria and no cholera whatever. Malaria was prevalent in the Danube districts. The country is at pres-

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ent nearly free from influenza. At worst, it was not as bad as it was in America (this may also be an indication of the superior toughness of the Roumanian peasant, for influenza was a terrible scourge in 1918 in Macedonia and Albania, C. U. C.).

"Dr. J. Breckenridge Bayne started fighting typhus in Roumania in 1916. When the Germans took Bucharest in 1916 they made him a prisoner but allowed him to continue running the large Bucharest hospital. He sought out typhus cases in house to house visits and did much to prevent the spread of an epidemic. In January he came back with the A. R. C. Commission to Roumania and established three hospitals in the worst typhus infested districts of Roumania. He reduced the mortality rate in these three hospitals to 5 and even 3% against 20% in native hospitals. He opened a training school in which Roumanian peasant girls were made into skilled nurses, and converted school-houses into district hospitals. He left Roumania in August, 1919, with the typhus virtually stamped out of the country.

"Maj. Bayne said that the chief difficulty in medical work was the fact that most medical and health reports were unreliable and very often epidemics turned out to be entirely different diseases from the one reported. Most villages, as soon as they heard that the A. R. C. was giving medical supplies, would report large numbers of cases of smallpox and typhus which actual inspection proved to be quite untrue.

"Capt. Raymond W. Baxter and Miss Marion Evans and Miss Katherine Wickham of the A. R. C. had charge of a district of 300 towns and villages around Buzeu. They cleaned up the towns, stamped out disease, and in particular they found a hospital at Buzeu where there were 105 patients with smallpox, typhus and other diseases, and the patients were sleeping on bare boards and had been without food for days. There were no doctors nor medicines. They cleaned the hospital, bathed the patients and brought in beds,

food, medicine and clothing, with the result that since they took it over there has been only a single death.

"On June 12th, 1919, it was decided to start the manufacture of artificial limbs in Roumania. Lt. R. E. Metcalf with three assistants was put in charge of the organization of this work, with the understanding that it should not continue later than October, 1919, and that the A. R. C. should manufacture not more than 200 limbs at a cost to the Red Cross of about 25,000 francs for 100 limbs. It was expected that the local government would take up and carry on the work after Oct. 1st.

"It was found that in Roumania there were approximately 5000 leg amputations, many of which were due to frozen feet. There were approximately 3000 arm amputations which called for the use of a simple hook according to the standardized French design, as most of the population was agricultural. . . .

"A special feature of the work at Bucharest has been the making of garments from the cloth brought into Roumania by the A. R. C. The work was done in shops and work-rooms already instituted but which had not been functioning to any extent on account of lack of materials. Instead of establishing new work shops we were able to use these and to provide employment for a number of women. The total number of garments made during the past months (in Bucharest alone) is as follows: June 1919, 4441; July, 7436; August, 120; total, 11,997 garments."

I am privileged also to quote from field reports, as follows: "On May 22nd we opened the canteen at Titeshti. This village is in the mountains, 90 km. (55 miles) from Piteshti, but on account of the bad roads we had to go 120 km. About 100 people were waiting for us. The center itself has about 500 but some of the villages were unable to get there on account of bad weather.

"As the mountain villages depend upon the plain for supplies and there is no transportation, except the most

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primitive, the hill conditions were deplorable. There were also other depressing factors, and at this center fully 1/3 of the people on the list were cretins. There seem to be a good many all through that country, but most of them are too old to be helped.

"Materials were sent to Piteshti by railway, from there loaded into A. R. C. trucks and sent to various distributing points where they were loaded into the local ox-carts. Sometimes as many as 150 of these would be radiating at once from the center, carrying the material to the various canteens, of which we established 45 in this one district, and served nearly 1,400,000 portions of soup."

From Constantza, a report reads: "On driving into one of these destroyed (Dobrudja) villages one would not expect to find many people but in response to the noise of the auto they would emerge from all directions, from exactly where, we soon learned. Finding their houses destroyed they had dug in under the site of their former home, or had built a 'lean-to' with the one wall left standing until the weather would permit the beginning of the rehabilitation work. We found several families living together in the two or three rooms of the few houses left standing. The resulting conditions of health and sanitation can well be left to the imagination.

"Later on in the Spring we were surprised to see how miraculously these simple peasants in their primitively practical way wrought houses out of the very soil on which they stood, made spades from boards and pitchforks from a forked stick or a split one. Dauntless and unconquerable and patient to the n'th degree, with a primitive, instinctive inventiveness for the prime necessities of life, these peasants would survive though uncontrolled disease and scourge took its toll of the weaker ones, reduced to the last stand of physical resistance due to insufficient and improper nourishment.

"We heard stories of people making food from the leaves of trees and twigs, which were actually confirmed by our

observations. In other places we found people gathering cabbage roots which had remained in the ground all winter.

"Food brought to these people, though only a small amount, such as a kilo (2.2 lbs.) of macaroni and peas, two cans of milk, $\frac{1}{4}$ kilo of sugar and a bar of soap, was to them manna from Heaven, and to these people, simple, very religious, superstitiously so, we were true messengers of the All Merciful. On two different occasions religious services were held on the arrival of the A. R. C. supplies in the villages. In many places we found people had been going on foot or by cart as far as 40 or 50 km. to the southern part of Dobrudja, near the Bulgarian frontier, to buy grain or to exchange the little clothing they had for something to eat. In some cases they brought food that no doubt had been stolen from their own supply the year before.

"A small amount of soap was given weekly to the free public bath-house and though but a small thing it had a far reaching effect in helping check the spread of typhus, which had become pretty general in the district and in some cases became grave. Though we had not sufficient transportation to loan to the Sanitary Service, we rendered all possible service in reporting new outbreaks of small-pox and typhus, or cases needing special attention, and in some instances took the only available doctor in the Department to the scene of trouble.

"The arrival of the first shipment of clothing brought delight to us as well as the ultimate recipients for we had long been seeing half naked children, as well as grown people, unaccustomed to such exposure, everywhere we went. The first clothing, though largely blankets, bath-robcs, pajamas and other hospital clothing, brought warmth and comfort to hundreds of children and old people to whom we had to limit contributions at first. Over night pink pajamas, blue pajamas and white pajamas were transformed into funny little boys' Norfolk pinch-back blouse suits and long trousers, or girls' undershirts, waists, women's blouses

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and old men's underwear. Blankets made splendid trousers for boys and men, and bath-robcs were made to serve as full dress or gorgeous bloomers for some old Turk lady. We found no end to clothing transformation possibilities. . . .

"The later arrival of more complete and finished variety of clothing as well as a more balanced supply of food gave more complete satisfaction to those of us who wished that every article might go where the most good would be derived from it. Over 60,000 meters of cloth found hands ready to work it up into useful, serviceable and much needed articles of clothing. Of the 36 sewing machines sent us 26 were used in working the cloth into clothing, 13,000 garments being made in that way. Later the sewing machines were put in trust of public institutions, such as schools and hospitals and communal canteens, where the public might realize the greatest benefit from them.

"The 24 winnowing machines and 12 farm wagons and 5 grindstones were entrusted in the hands of the Agricultural Administration, who made placements of them in the various communities in accordance with the need for such articles. In each case they were put into the hands of an orphan, widow or other dependent who might derive the immediate benefit from them and then loan them to the other needy persons. The result of this placement of these few simple farm tools brought forth a demand for many more just like them, showing the actual need and demand for farming equipment."

By February, 1920, all supplies in Roumania were practically distributed, and the personnel of the Commission cut in half. A dental school was opened in the Polyclinic at Bucharest, and the Mayoralty pledged continuance of Child Welfare work. The A. R. C. Hospital in Voineshti (60 miles out of Bucharest) was turned over to the local administra-

tion, with an initial endowment of 57,000 lei. The Roumanian Government made no objection to the sending of Red Cross supplies into Poland, and no trouble was expected in the matter of sending material into Russia. The Red Cross people in Bessarabia reported that Russian refugees were absolutely prohibited from crossing the Dniester, from fear of their bringing with them disease and Bolshevism, and also because it might not be possible to feed them. Some 50,000 of these refugees lined the Russian bank of the river, and many of them were in a pitiful condition.

To sum up:

"The value of the supplies *purchased* and shipped from the U. S. direct to Roumania was, from the beginning of operations up to May 31st, 1920, \$64,528.24.

The estimated value of the *chapter produced* articles shipped direct from the U. S. to Roumania, same period, was \$1,374,119.35.

The total appropriations spent in Roumania, made from the European headquarters at Paris, between July 1st, 1917 and June 30th, 1920, was \$801,086.07

Total \$2,240,733.66

The A. R. C. contributed to 273 hospitals, 55 infirmaries, 51 orphanages, 30 schools and 74 other institutions in Roumania, and aided 1921 villages. There were 344 kitchen-canteens, which issued 6,886,913 meals. With food, clothing, shoes, etc., the A. R. C. computes that it aided 663,578 persons in Roumania.

Both Queen Marie and Mme. Gr. Sevesco, head of the Roumania Red Cross, spoke to me in highest

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terms of the work and the personnel of the American Red Cross; and this praise was repeated by every Roumanian with whom I discussed the Red Cross work. I had the pleasure of seeing a number of the Red Cross personnel in Bucharest and elsewhere, and shall keep a vivid memory of their patience and cheerfulness in the midst of overwork and practical difficulties. Their mud-splashed little Fords were all over the streets of Bucharest and the dreary rain-soaked trails of steppe and mountain. Well might King Ferdinand say: "If it were not for the help of the United States, Roumania would have starved. The name of the American Red Cross will forever be blessed in my country. It has worked with unceasing energy among the poor and suffering, showing a spirit of abnegation and devotion of which I cannot speak too highly. It penetrated into the most forsaken corners, succouring the sick, clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, bringing hope and comfort to thousands in distress. Under the intelligent guidance of Col. Anderson, the Red Cross workers accomplished wonders among the poor."

Through the courtesy of Mr. Irving Squire, of the Bureau of Information, International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., I am able to present an interesting sketch of the work of that organization in Roumania:

"In the Winter of 1918 the Young Men's Christian Association had secretaries with the Roumanian Army and when in March peace was signed with the Central Powers, the secretaries devoted themselves to the aid of the starving populations of Jassy, Galatz and Bucharest. This work, although short, had been sufficiently helpful to make the organ-

ization trusted and in November, 1919, at the request of the Government, three secretaries were sent to Roumania to open work with the troops under the special encouragement of Queen Marie and the Minister of War.

"Recreation huts with canteen, cinema, free letter paper and athletic equipment were utterly unknown to the Roumanians and it was some time before the rigors of their army discipline gave way and freedom was allowed in Association buildings. There were many delays in the work, but within the year huts were opened at six points with an average daily attendance of over 27,000 and athletics were being carried on for soldiers and for children at several other points. Two schools for athletic officers in the army were carried on in the summer of 1920 by the Association's physical directors and its program of exercise and sport is now adopted as part of the regular army course. The huts being now handed over to the care of the Army, a summer school for training men to take charge of these has been under the charge of the Association.

"With the demobilization of a large part of the Army, the Association has reduced its staff to 11 American workers (with Roumanian aids) and is concentrating on work for boys and the University students. By order of the Minister of Education picked groups of boys from high schools are being trained by the Association directors as leaders in school sports and athletics. In Bucharest there are a dozen boys' clubs belonging to different schools, all these boys being members of the Club of the Red Triangle, which has a building of its own. This is equipped with reading and writing rooms and quiet places for study and has a program of religious and educational talks, entertainments, cinema, games, athletics and a small cafeteria for use at social meetings.

"Last year, at the request of the Government, the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. together opened a playground in the industrial quarter of Bucharest. This year land has

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been allotted nearer the center of the city, where the children in whom the spirit of play has been crushed are learning to run and to laugh. The two Associations are also working together for the young men and women of the University, where a foyer has been opened, the only general meeting place for the students to be found in the city.

"So utterly foreign to Roumanian experience are the Y. M. C. A. methods that the work has moved more slowly here than in Czecho-Slovakia, but the Association has been warmly upheld by the Government, the Army and the Church, and through its program of athletics and clean sport, which has attracted soldiers and civilians alike, it is hoped to develop further the educational and recreational features of the Association and place the work on a sound basis under the Roumanians themselves."

The American Red Cross and the American Food Commission have left Roumania; the Young Women's Christian Association entered Bucharest in 1920, and in a year of effort has accomplished much. They had begun with the Roumanian prisoners in Bulgaria; and Queen Marie, learning of this and observing their work in Paris, invited them to settle in the capital. At their centre on the Boulevard Lascar Catargi they have a gymnasium, reading-room and assembly-hall, with lectures and debates every Sunday; a restaurant; and rooms for lodgers. They met with such immediate success that they soon started another centre, in the Strada Silfidelor, with accommodations for thirty young women. They are just in time to take advantage of the strong movement for women's rights in Roumania. There is an active Woman's Suffrage party, with a weekly paper; the Averesco Ministry has brought in a bill

giving women lawyers the right to plead in the courts. Through Minister Argetoiano it has also, in the spring of 1921, undertaken to protect young girls from the "white slave" danger by a series of government regulations which should make Bucharest one of the most decorous and healthful of large cities.

In leaving this subject, I wish to call attention to the admirable "Observations on Medical Conditions in Roumania" by Drs. H. Gideon Wells and Roger G. Perkins, which appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for 1918 (Vol. LXX, pp. 743-753). They were in Moldavia when, in their words, in "a territory not much larger than the state of Massachusetts were gathered much of its normal population of 2,800,000 and from half a million to a million refugees from Wallachia, nearly half a million Roumanian soldiers, and approximately a million Russians." This report portrays vividly and with scientific exactness the ravages of various diseases in this famished and overcrowded Calvary; pays high tribute to the valuable work of Professor Cantacuzene, the famous Roumanian bacteriologist, and his pupils and assistants; remarks on the willingness of the Roumanian soldier (as contrasted with some other nationalities) to be "disinfected," and adds: "The discipline of the Roumanian Army is as nearly perfect as could be wished, and the Roumanian soldier is a willing, patient, friendly worker, who is remarkably skilful in working with wood and plaster, building barracks, hospitals, baths, disinfectors, furniture, etc., all with few materials and great success." They note that

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"the water supply of the larger Moldavian towns is excellent. The supplies of Galatz by sedimentation and filtration of the muddy Danube water, of Piatra Neamtz by ozonization of a fine mountain water, and of Jassy, by underground collection of mountain water filtered through natural gravel beds, might each be used as models of city water supplies of different types." They sum up their impressions of Roumania thus: "A nation which can arise from a crushed condition such as existed last December (1916), fight through two such plagues as cholera and typhus, bear the burden of a vast, inert, hungry foreign army, and with the aid of a thousand stimulating and inspiring Frenchmen re-establish itself so that seven months later it can hold off the concentrated attacks of Mackensen's army and pile up from 60,000 to 80,000 German casualties is entitled to all respect and to every possible help. . . . Their heroic reorganization and resistance despite apparently insurmountable difficulties constitutes one of the most splendid episodes of the war."

CHAPTER XXX

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

THE later Middle Ages saw a constant increase in the size and number of landed estates in Roumania as in other parts of Central and Eastern Europe. During the Renaissance, the process was accentuated, and the peasant not merely lost ground economically, but the few rights he still retained were encroached upon. We find Michael the Brave presenting whole villages and all their inhabitants to bishops and generals; and in the 17th century, the peasant loses his identity and becomes a chattel. He could still be taxed; but in the 18th century his master gained control even of his cattle and other belongings; and so many fled the country that the problem had to be faced. When Constantine Mavrocordato began his administration of Wallachia in 1741, he found 140,000 families paying taxes. In 1755, a census reported only 35,000. He made the first reforms in 1746 and later, as we have seen; but they remained largely a dead-letter through the opposition of the boyars. The first genuine improvement dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when under Alexander Moruzi (1805) in Moldavia and Constantine Ypsilanti (1806) in Wallachia, the relations between land-owner and peasant were regulated. In Moldavia the peasants were divided into classes according to the number of oxen they owned; each land-

owner had to rent out to a peasant a given area of land according to his class, and the peasant paid over a tenth of the produce. Had conditions been favourable, these reforms might have led to a building up of a prosperous peasant class; but the extortions of the Phanariote rulers, internal disorders, Ypsilanti's revolt and the rebellion of Tudor Vladimirescu, followed by the ravages of Russian, Austrian and Turkish armies and an epidemic of the plague, upset all regular government. A million peasants are said to have fled the country during this unsettled period. Nor was General Kissileff's administration or the Organic Regulation calculated to improve the peasant's status, since it was the allegiance of the great boyars which the Russians desired. The peasant was no longer a serf, to be sure; but the area which he might expect for tillage from his master was reduced from Moruzi's allowance. The highest class of peasant (with at least four oxen and a cow) received only $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres of plough-land and meadow, and $6\frac{1}{4}$ of pasture! The peasant had to give his master 14 days a year of work with oxen and plough, and up to 72 days (in the smaller Moldavian villages) of individual labour. A special grievance was that they had to leave their harvest lying till the master had selected his share, and it often spoiled. In 1848, uprisings among the peasants led to the provision that the master should have only ten days in which to make his selection, and that local courts should be created with jurisdiction over disputes between master and peasant.

Prince Cuza's agrarian reform of 1864 was the first great step forward of our own day. Serfdom

had just been abolished in Russia. The country was seething with discontent. Cuza's great minister Kogălniceanu worked out a plan, and submitted it to the Chamber. It was rejected by the boyar majority; Cuza's *coup d'état* carried it, and a plebiscite justified him by 713,000 votes against 57,000.

What distinguished Cuza's reform from its predecessors was that it actually took some of the boyar's land away and gave it to the peasant for his own. The peasant was to pay for it in 15 annual instalments. Up to two-thirds of a boyar's land (not counting forest) could be expropriated. If that did not suffice, government land could be drawn upon; this had just been increased by the confiscation of about 9000 sq. mi. of convent lands. The government was to give the boyar 10% bonds, and the peasant compensate the government. But this scheme also had serious disadvantages. Fifteen years, with the heavy interest charges involved, was too short a period; over 30% of the peasant's income had to go to these instalments and taxes, according to John Ghica's "Convorbiri Economice." The prices paid were also too high, considering that four piasters (16c) made an ordinary day's wage; the average payment had to be 500 lei (\$100) or over, up to 563 lei. The parcels of land were too small—about 12 acres on the average—to support the ordinary family, and became still more inadequate when divided up between the children of the peasant. So they rented more land from the boyar, and paid in kind or in day's work, as before. Agriculture was on a low level, and model farms are still scarce; wide-spread agricultural education is perhaps the

greatest need of the new Roumanian state, which is likely, like all modern governments, to encourage manufacturing and city life at the expense of the farmer.

Cuza's reforms, fundamental and creditable as they were, did not reach far enough. The census of 1901 showed 4061 estates of over 250 acres, and 933-328 less than that area; $21/22$ of all the farms were under 25 acres. Over half of these were between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 acres. Premier Carp had, to be sure, improved matters in the '90s by opening up government land, in $12\frac{1}{2}$, 25 and $62\frac{1}{2}$ acre parcels, to peasants who needed larger farms, on a 36-year payment basis, with an initial loan from the Rural Bank of 600 lei, later raised to 700. The interest rate, which had been 10%, was lowered to 5, and in 1895 to 3.

With a well-educated peasantry, and a diversified agriculture, these measures might have sufficed. But the handicap of ignorance, lack of capital and exclusive cereal culture was too great. Economists have often pointed out that the new class created by the agrarian legislation was neither fish, flesh nor fowl, or, rather, partook of all three. His farm being so tiny, the average peasant was both a land-owner, a renter (of the additional land necessary) and an agricultural labourer. A crisis, like the hard years 1906-07, brought matters to a head, and the desperate peasants rose in what almost amounted to a revolution. The army's loyalty was sorely tried, for they had to fire on their own fathers and brothers; but the uprising was suppressed, and the government set about a more thorough-going reform.

The large estates were still more pared down, and state land was set at the peasants' disposal much more generously. A minimum wage was established. A period of great financial prosperity set in, and the peasant benefited.

Nevertheless, the situation was far from healthy. At the beginning of the war, the total arable land of the Kingdom—about fifteen million acres—was almost exactly divided between small peasant holdings, and great estates; medium-sized farms, the ideal of this legislation, covered only about a million acres. The war hastened tardy ambitions for justice to the peasants, and in 1917 new agrarian legislation was passed which is now (under unexampled difficulties), being modified and put into practice. This law undertakes the expropriation of all the large estates; no one is henceforth to possess over 1250 acres of arable land. The State is to assume 35% of the burden of payment, and the peasant has 65 years in which to pay his 65%.

An interview of September, 1920, with Minister Garoflid, head of the Agricultural Commission, states that up to that date the government has expropriated 5,500,000 acres, 4,000,000 of which are already in the hands of the new peasant farmers; the remainder is being exploited by the communes, or is awaiting distribution. In Transylvania, the expropriation had not yet begun, according to this interview; in Bessarabia some progress had been made (see page 115). In the Bucovina all the preliminary work has been done, and conditions are favourable. Thus the problem appears finally to be approaching a satisfactory solution.

CHAPTER XXXI

GREATER ROUMANIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

ONE must admire the loyalty and forbearance which Roumania has shown since the war in her international relations. The Paris discussions had deeply wounded Roumania's intellectuals; as Premier Vaida said in the discussion of the Treaty with Hungary in the Roumanian Chamber, "such an atmosphere had been created for us that at London we were considered a nation of savages." He went on to criticize those who maintained that the Peace Conference was hostile to Roumania; such a statement, he said, was absolutely inexact. In fact, Roumania's position in the minorities question was much more advantageous than that of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia or the other states. Nevertheless, I have pointed out and need not repeat Roumania's grounds for dissatisfaction in her treatment by the Treaty of St. Germain. She had other serious grievances. The question of the Dardanelles is vital to Roumania; yet she was given only half a vote on the International Commission, while Turkey received a full vote. She had not been treated as she should, she felt, in the matter of the Danube Commission, or in the distribution of the river fleets of the Central Empires. No other Allied country except Serbia had been so prostrated by the war or had been so exploited by the enemy; her representatives at the

Spa Conference pointed out that she had lost 800,000 by death, and had suffered damages at the hands of the enemy to a figure of over thirty billion gold francs in the former kingdom and thirteen billion gold francs in the acquired territories; and the Spa conference allotted her 1% of the German indemnity! It is even reported that the Entente Reparations Commission sitting in Buda-Pesth has decided that from this minute fraction must first be deducted 45,000,000,000 crowns for Hungarian rolling stock, etc., seized during the Roumanian occupation! Even Friedrich in talking with me in November, 1919, claimed only thirty billion crowns as the sum due Hungary from Roumania.

The depreciation of her currency had brought her enormous losses which her Allies do not share with her. One or two examples will suffice. A purchase of 1820 tons of copper sulphate in March, 1919, valued at £86,887, when the pound equalled about 50 lei, and thus at 4,382,590 lei, was paid for with Treasury notes falling due March, 1921, when the rate of exchange was 290 lei to a pound, thus costing nearly 25,200,000 lei! Five hundred Morse telegraph instruments for the State Railways, bought at the same time for 890,960 francs (then equalling 1,470,085 lei), have to be paid for March 31, 1921, with 4,454,800 lei!

I could add other grievances, but these are enough to explain the bewildered disappointment felt by every thinking Roumanian, as he compares his country's difficulties with the ideals for which he entered the war. No doubt there is universal disappointment, but Roumania's is especially poignant. She

adjoins powerful neighbours, and has special reasons for distrusting two or three of them; what are her prospective relations with them?

Her loyalty to her Allies has kept Roumania from entering into direct relations with Soviet Russia. Roumania has been well informed on Russian affairs; I found complete scepticism there with regard to any efforts by Wrangel or Petlura to wrest power from Moscow. Technically, the Dniester has been closed; in fact, a number of refugees variously estimated at from 35,000 to 50,000 have been received in Bessarabia, and have added to the difficulties of handling that province, particularly as many Bolshevists slipped in among them. Russia cordially approved Roumania's correct attitude in the Russian-Polish War of 1920, and Lenin and Trotzky made overtures several times for formal peace. Great Britain having paved the way by virtual recognition of the Soviet Government in her Trade Agreement, Roumania decided to enter into formal parleys, and a meeting to draw up a treaty was held in Moscow in June, 1921.

The feeling between Roumania and Hungary may be compared with that between France and Germany; Transylvania presents many analogies with Alsace-Lorraine. Many Magyars have left Greater Roumania for Hungary, but many are left, particularly in official stations; quite recently it was claimed that 90% of the higher employés of the State Railways in Transylvania are still non-Roumanian; and more Hungarian papers are printed than Roumanian. We have seen that the Hungarian church dignitaries have not been deposed; the Roumanian Government

pays their priests just as it does the Orthodox. Very few schools or colleges have been changed over to Roumanian as yet, the most conspicuous being the University of Cluj (Kolozsvár), which the Roumanians regard as a Hungarian propaganda institution in a region prevailingly Roumanian. It would be idle to pretend that the reconstruction under Roumanian officials of a district where Hungarians have been the masters, has been without at least as much friction as has occurred in the French reconstruction of Alsace; what has puzzled me is why our press has given so much more space to Hungarian protests against Roumania than to German protests against France. The cases seem to me completely parallel. The encouraging feature is that the intransigent element tends to disappear, and doubtless will fade away when economic conditions improve. Valuable work is being done by such Hungarians as Dr. Oscar Iászi, the former Minister, who counsels his compatriots in Roumania to put aside all thought of a war of revenge, but to bend their energies to economic and intellectual effort, in full harmony with the Roumanians. Cluj (Kolozsvár) already bears witness to the results of such efforts. In the autumn of 1920, according to an article in one of its Magyar newspapers, the *Uj Vilag*, there were in operation or projected, a Roumanian opera, a Hungarian theatre and a concert-hall and classical theatre for both languages; five dailies in Roumanian and seven in Hungarian; and five motion-picture establishments. In late March, 1921, it was announced that a Roumanian-Hungarian Chamber of Commerce was being organized at Buda-Pesth.

The new border against Bulgaria in the Dobrudja runs largely through a lonely mountain country, and there have been a number of "frontier incidents"; there has even been evidence of a Bulgarian Irredentist organization supporting armed "komitadjis" in the Dobrudja. A mixed commission to determine damages due to these bands, began its sittings at Silistria in April, 1921. But there is general willingness in Roumania to believe in the sincerity of Premier Stambulisky's efforts to improve relations between the two countries. He visited Bucharest in January, 1921, and took pleasure in recalling Roumania's early welcoming of Bulgarian refugees; their joint campaigns against the Turk; the fact that the first Bulgarian books were printed in Roumania, and the first Bulgarian political organization formed on Roumanian soil. The two countries have many similar problems; in politics both have witnessed an attempt by Communistic elements to seize both the Peasants' and the Socialist Parties. The recently reported rapprochement between Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia would be another step toward that Balkan Federation which Take Jonesco hopes Roumania also may enter.

One of the most agreeable recent international phenomena is the burial of rancour against Austria by several of her former enemies. Roumania early entered into a Commercial Treaty with the new state of German Austria. Vienna could supply her with all manner of manufactured articles, and had dire need of the food and raw materials which Roumania could export. Six consecutive permits, e. g., for importation from Austria under the treaty, dated in

December, 1920, deal with picture post-cards, furniture, umbrellas, canes, cigarette holders, articles de Paris, fancy leather goods and pianos. I have told on page 31 of my meeting with the Vienna railroad official who had come to take back some 50 cars of gasoline, etc., in exchange for railroad equipment. It was announced in June, 1921, that 65,000,000 gold crowns, in the possession of the Austro-Hungarian National Bank should be divided between the Succession States—Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Roumania.

Of her sister Succession States, Roumania's relations have been particularly cordial with Czecho-Slovakia. The two countries have a short common frontier; on June 2, 1921, Take Jonesco announced to the Roumanian Senate that he had carried through an exchange with Prague, by which Czecho-Slovakia surrendered to Roumania the eight communes of Tamash, Batargi, Comlusha, Valea Seacă, Bocicaul, Tarna, Remetea and Huta, 175 sq. km., with 10,808 inhabitants (7093 Roumanians), and received the three communes of Naghy-Palad, Fertos-Almash and Acli, 60 sq. km., with 3112 inhabitants (2606 Hungarians, 500 Jews and 6 Roumanians). This friendly feeling has crystallized in the formal treaty of April, 1921, between Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania.

This Treaty with Czecho-Slovakia was ratified at Bucharest on May 27, 1921, and runs as follows:

Firmly resolved to maintain the peace acquired at the cost of so many sacrifices, and foreseen by the covenant of the Society of Nations, and the arrangement established by the Treaty drawn up at Trianon June 4, 1920, between the

Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand, and Hungary on the other, H. M. the King of Roumania and the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic have agreed to conclude a defensive Convention. To this effect, they named as their Plenipotentiary Delegates, H. M. the King of Roumania, M. Take Jonesco, his Minister of Foreign Affairs; the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, M. Ferdinand Veverka, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Czecho-Slovak Republic at Bucharest; who, after having communicated to each other their full authorizations, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1

In case of unprovoked attack on the part of Hungary upon one of the High Contracting Parties, the other Party binds itself to contribute to the defense of the Party attacked, under conditions determined by the arrangement foreseen in Article 2 of the present Convention.

ARTICLE 2

The competent technical authorities of the Kingdom of Roumania and of the Czecho-Slovak Republic will draw up in unison the necessary provisions for the execution of the present Convention by a military Convention, to be concluded later.

ARTICLE 3

Neither of the High Contracting Parties can conclude an alliance with a third Power without preliminary notification of the other Party.

ARTICLE 4

In order to coördinate their pacific endeavors, the two governments bind themselves to consult each other on questions of foreign policy affecting their relations with Hungary.

ARTICLE 5

The present Convention shall be in force during two years, counting from the day of the exchange of ratifications. At the end of that period, either of the Contracting Parties can denounce the present Convention. It will however remain in force for six months after the date of denunciation.

ARTICLE 6

The present Convention shall be communicated to the Society of Nations (Covenant of the Society of Nations).

ARTICLE 7

The Convention shall be ratified and the exchange of ratifications shall take place as soon as possible at Bucharest.

In attestation of which the duly appointed Plenipotentiaries have signed it and invested it with their seals.

Made in a double copy at Bucharest, April 23, 1921.

(s) TAKE JONESCO.

(s) DR. FERDINAND VEVERKA.

On July 8th, Roumania ratified a similar treaty with Jugo-Slavia, the scope of which is a trifle wider, since it is designed to safeguard the Treaty of Neuilly (with Bulgaria) as well as the Treaty of Trianon. Czecho-Slovakia had also signed a treaty with Jugo-Slavia in December, 1920, so that the three countries form the nucleus of a "Petite Entente," formed primarily for defence against Hungary and Hapsburg restoration. Few countries supplement each other so well as Czecho-Slovakia, with its great factories, and agricultural Roumania. In the summer of 1921, the management of the Prague Fair sent a train of 25 cars of commercial samples through Rou-

mania; a commercial convention between the two countries was signed in April, 1921. Relations were aided by the curious fact that in the depreciation of currencies, a Roumanian leu had come to be worth almost exactly a Czecho-Slovak crown.

Take Jonesco has also endeavoured to bring about closer relations between Roumania and Poland. Two or three centuries ago, the two states exerted strong influences on each other. Now there is in Galicia a common frontier and through express connection; and in May, 1921, Jonesco announced that an agreement had been reached by which Poland might use the Roumanian port of Braila on the Danube, on the same basis as the Italian port of Trieste is used by Czecho-Slovakia. His hope is that Poland may join the Petite Entente; this hope is also expressed by the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister Benes in his speech in the Prague Parliament of January 27, 1921, although he admits that the wounds of the Teschen controversy will take long in healing. In any case, Roumania and Poland have similar policies to pursue as regards Russia, Hungary and (to a less degree) Germany, and they have few conflicting interests. On March 2, 1921, Take Jonesco and Prince Sapieha signed a treaty between Roumania and Poland, binding each country to help the other in case either is attacked without provocation on its present eastern frontier, and to follow an identical foreign policy toward their eastern neighbours. This treaty is to last five years; after two years, either country may give six months' notice of withdrawal, on previous agreement.

Relations with Jugo-Slavia are also improving; in

June, 1921, Take Jonesco visited Belgrade for the final ratification of the treaty just mentioned. Jugo-Slavia has had more difficulty than the other Succession States in reaching a constitutional basis; and trade relations with Roumania are unimportant, since their products are so largely identical. Roumania counted for only $2\frac{1}{4}\%$ in Jugo-Slav commerce of 1920. Now that the causes of friction which arose during and shortly after the war, are disappearing, there is every reason to believe that the two countries will return to their historic amity. Few nationalities have existed side by side with so few conflicts in the course of many centuries as the Roumanians and the Serbs.

Similar good relations prevail between Roumania and Greece, and have been sealed in 1921 by the marriage of Crown Prince Charles and Princess Helen of Greece, and of the Roumanian Princess Elizabeth to Prince George of Greece. Sentiment plays a strong part in this traditional feeling; ancient and venerated culture, church affiliations, fellow-feeling against the Turk, form a basis on which to found a close alliance—perhaps nearer to the heart of Take Jonesco than any other, although the eclipse of Venizelos, his beau ideal of a statesman, must have dampened his ardour somewhat.

Roumanian feeling toward Italy has always been cordial. Much enthusiasm was roused in both countries by the visit of a Roumanian delegation to Rome during the war; General Badoglio's visit to Bucharest in May, 1921, was most successful; and in the spring of 1921 the Commercial Academy of Bucharest sent a number of students and instructors

through Italy, at the invitation of the Italian Government. They were lavishly entertained; and the Italian-Roumanian Chamber of Commerce of Milan established ten scholarships, five for Roumanians studying in Italy, and five for Italians studying in Roumania, and gave a half-million lei to the Academy. Italian business men are rapidly creating for themselves a higher place in the commerce of Roumania, just as they have in Jugo-Slavia (34% of whose trade in 1920 was with Italy, more than with any other nation), and Italian engineers and other professional men are especially welcome there. The close understanding between Italy and Czecho-Slovakia, combined with this traditional friendship between Italy and Roumania, almost brings Italy into the Petite Entente.

Greater Roumania now contains over three million Roman Catholics, one million of them Magyar or German in language. Under Austro-Hungary, their relations with Rome were governed by a Concordat with the Vatican. Even in the early days of the Kingdom, Kogălniceano had seen the desirability of a formal Concordat; and the need of appointing new bishops has led to the proposal by Take Jonesco of a Treaty with the Vatican. In February, 1921, the Orthodox Primate of Roumania, Miron Cristea, took occasion in the Senate to emphasize the spirit of religious tolerance which has characterized the Greek Orthodox Church in Roumania in the past, and the forbearance of the Roumanian Government in Transylvania since the war. Whereas in France, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, high church dignitaries of former enemy nationality had been displaced,

Roumania did not disturb the Magyar and German bishops, and did not even insist that they should immediately take the oath of allegiance, tolerating even such conduct as that of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Alba-Julia, who declined to meet King Ferdinand when the latter visited the famous library of his episcopal residence. I have been much impressed, in talking with Roumanian public men, to observe their complete lack of prejudice in matters ecclesiastical. This broadmindedness must have been reciprocated within the Church, for Roumania's politics lack the disturbing element of a Clerical Party, which complicates so many other Parliaments.

Germany has lost no time in endeavouring to gain her former supremacy in Roumanian trade. When I was there, in 1919, German products were already beginning to appear, by roundabout channels; and the Ententophile influences were so great that in the spring of 1921, Take Jonesco proposed a surtax of 50% on importations from Germany, as had been done by Jugo-Slavia (which rescinded the action in June, 1921). Given German industry and persistence, her wide acquaintance with Roumania and former commercial relations which are rapidly being restored, it seems clear that Germany and Italy will take the place in Roumanian commerce which has been held by France and Great Britain the past few years, unless the latter countries bestir themselves. As for the United States and Canada (who have respectively loaned Roumania \$36,128,494 and a little over \$22,000,000, counting unpaid interest), their provincial timidity in foreign trade, showing itself in unwillingness to grant long credits, handicaps



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them just at the moment when they have an unrivalled opportunity. Roumanians like Americans; here is a rich country just turning from agriculture to manufacturing; and the Germans and Italians will benefit from it, and benefit Roumania!

CHAPTER XXXII

ROUMANIA'S CONDITION TO-DAY

ROUMANIA is on the threshold of an astonishing development. Her enormous natural wealth, her independent and conservative peasantry, her talented leaders, her strategic international position, combine to assure her a brilliant future. I wish to emphasize this, for some observers, not appreciating Roumania's difficulties, have been so impressed with surface phenomena that they have not seen the fundamental strength below. And of all these surface manifestations, the transportation crisis, with all its consequences, seems the gravest.

It is true that in the summer of 1921 this crisis still continues. We have seen the destruction and stealing of locomotives and other rolling stock during the war, which left the Roumanian State Railways virtually paralyzed. Since the armistice the number of locomotives in use has increased, even if slowly; in December, 1920, the number was reported as 1375, as contrasted with 3555 in 1915. The government had contracted with the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia, and the locomotives began to arrive in the autumn of 1920; but there were long delays in setting them up. There was a further contract with the Baldwin Co. for repairs. Fifty American locomotives had previously been bought from the American Army in France. In 1920

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a contract was made with the International Corporation of Canada, in Montreal, for 300 Canadian locomotives (cancelled, according to my information, in May, 1921). In February, 1921, forty locomotives were bought from the Kassel firm of Henschel & Sohn, for 125,000,000 lei. In the summer of 1920 the Skoda Works in Bohemia agreed to supply 80 new engines, and repair 500 within three years. In January, 1921, an interesting contract was made with the Austrian Government, by which the latter agreed to rent out to Roumania immediately 30 engines, 50 20-ton and 50 15-ton box cars and 200 flat cars, for three years, at 200 lei a day per locomotive and 50 lei a freight car, with the right to buy the locomotives for a half-million lei apiece the first year, or 250,000 lei apiece the second or third year. Another contract was made with an Austrian firm, Wanchlowsky, for the repairing of 500 locomotives; with the Breslau firm of Smoscher for repairing 150; and the Glasgow house, William Bradmore & Co., for 60 new engines. Larger contracts for repairing engines and cars were made with two groups, one formed by Schneider of the Creusot and other French firms, to whom the government turned over the repair shops in Temeshvar, Simedria-Piski, Cluj and Brashov (Brasso), for a period of seven years, and the other a British syndicate, which was to take over the shops at Bucharest (Grivitza), Turn-Severin, Czernowitz, Pashcani, Jassy, Galatz, Bender and Constantza, likewise for seven years. The Roumanian Government has also encouraged the acquisition of locomotives and cars by corporations, lumber companies, etc.; in April, 1921, e. g., the city

of Bucharest bought through the State Railways five locomotives to ensure delivery of provisions, wood, etc., to the capital, at a price of two and a half million lei apiece. Coal was so scarce and hard to get, and oil so urgently needed for other purposes, that it might have been hard to supply more engines than were actually available. The gradual improvement has already made possible through sleeping-car service between Bucharest and Buda-Pesth, Vienna, Prague and Warsaw, in addition to the Orient-Simplon through service to Agram, Milan and Paris. All railroad tariffs were doubled at the beginning of 1921 and taxes of 20% and of 5% were levied in addition. Even so, in Roumania as everywhere else, the cost of transportation did not increase in proportion to the general rise of prices and wages, and the trains continue to be frightfully crowded, while freight-cars are still so scarce that there is a lively competition for them. Steamer communications being now normal, there is a huge accumulation of incoming freight on the Braila and Galatz docks, and many Bucharest merchants have come to use motor-trucks for their shipments to and from tidewater, in preference to the railway. As the situation improves, the government intends to do an immense amount of double-tracking and of new construction, the railway lines in Transylvania and the Banat, the Bucovina and Bessarabia needing to be linked up with Bucharest and the Roumanian ports, instead of converging on Buda-Pesth, Vienna and Odessa. An official estimate of late 1920 allows for the ultimate construction of 450 miles of new double-track, 700 of new single-track, the

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double-tracking of 400 miles of existing single-track, the standardizing of 400 miles of narrow-gauge, and the building of over 500 miles of new mountain railway. The present total railway mileage of Greater Roumania is about 11,000 miles.

Roumania has suffered like all other countries in post-war railroad administration. We have here the same complaints of stealing from freight cars (which is said to amount to two million dollars a month in our own United States) of neglect of schedules, of the necessity of bribing employés, etc.; but I cannot find that conditions in Roumania are much worse than elsewhere. The wonder is that a shattered and demoralized railway system, much of which is run by men who were enemy subjects, has been able to handle so much business. Much amusement was caused by a report of the Director of the State Railways in January, 1921, on railway conditions in former enemy territory, in which he stated that he had found trains in circulation which were not authorized, and some with schedules and rolling-stock which were entirely unknown to the responsible officials. All my recent information from Roumania is to the effect that the situation is rapidly improving.

River navigation seems to have been restored much more fully. Boats touch all the Danube and Black Sea ports on either a daily or bi-weekly service; and the government line to Naples (via Constantinople, the Piræus and Messina) is running two boats a month from Galatz; the alternate weeks a boat runs to Constantza and Constantinople. Numerous foreign lines connect Braila, Galatz and Constantza directly with Odessa, Novorossiysk, Saloniki, Naples,

Marseilles, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hull, London, Liverpool and New York.

Aërial navigation is also being supported by the Roumanian Government, which subsidizes the Franco-Roumanian Aërial Navigation Line, a ten-million franc corporation (organized by the Banca Marmorosch Blank & Co.), with 70 or 80 machines, which connects Paris with Strasburg, Prague, Warsaw, Bucharest and Constantinople. This will evidently be a serious competitor of the Orient-Simplon Express, whether that runs on the present long route via Jugo-Slavia, or the shorter route via Vienna.

Roumania has now unified her railroad administration. Another serious task which is now also a thing of the past, is currency unification. When I was in Roumania in late 1919, crowns of varying value were in circulation in the former Austro-Hungarian territory, and rubles in Bessarabia. These were converted into lei during 1920. The Roumanian leu (lion, plural lei) was exactly equivalent to the French franc before the war. A little over eight and a half billion crowns were turned in for conversion, at one-half leu each, and one billion and a quarter rubles, at one leu each for Romanoff rubles and 30 bani (centimes) for Lwoff rubles. The conversion of notes of the Banca Generala, the German bank of issue during the occupation, was scheduled for the summer of 1921. The total Roumanian paper money in circulation in early 1921 was estimated by Prof. Theodore Crivetz to be about fourteen billion lei, which would come to about 800 lei per capita. This expansion of the currency, together

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with a huge excess of imports over exports (3622 millions of lei in 1919, as against 103 millions), led to a rapid depreciation of the leu during 1919-20; but during 1920 there was a great improvement in the business situation, which kept the leu fairly stationary in early 1921 at about $1\frac{3}{8}$ c American, $5/6$ d. British currency. Like all other currency units of Central Europe, the leu sank still lower in the summer and autumn of 1921. Exports from Roumania during 1920 rose to well toward three billion lei. In this total are included 24 cars of wheat, 190 of flour, 3964 of rye, 41,920 of barley, 3536 of oats, 43,039 of maize, 350 of crude oil, 2410 of oil residues, 14,853 of refined petroleum, 5433 of gasoline, 1656 of mineral oils and 4331 of spruce planks, which products (with other lumber) totalled 1,238,550 tons, as compared with 108,879 tons in 1919. The 1921 figures will reflect the continual improvement in transportation and other conditions. In 1919 and 1920, there were frequent strikes, covering all classes, from stevedores to lawyers and even Liberal members of Parliament; these also are disappearing. With this general improvement has come a large business expansion. In 1919 there were incorporated banks, commercial, industrial and insurance companies for a total of half a billion lei; in 1920, for the first eight months, the total was 1,640,000,000 lei.

These are phenomena which the post-war period has brought out everywhere, especially in countries with depreciated currency. These all have budgets which do not balance (in which they have excellent company) and a huge debt, which in Roumania's

case seems to amount to about twenty-seven billion lei (all but five billion internal). Constitutional and political changes, due to the sudden doubling of Roumanian population, postponed financial reforms here, as elsewhere; but under Minister of the Treasury Titulesco, the Averesco Ministry has proposed as thorough-going tax reforms as even in Germany. The new customs tariff of June, 1921, is much higher than its predecessor, and embodies many protective features; the duty on steel rails, e. g., is raised from 25% to 44%. But the chief feature of these reforms is the introduction of new direct taxes. In the 1920-21 budget, direct taxes were estimated at only 461 million lei, while indirect taxes totalled nearly two billion. The new schedules include luxury and sales taxes; higher rates on alcoholic liquors; heavy progressive income and inheritance taxes; and a direct contribution from large fortunes, particularly of war profiteers; the rate is to be doubled in case these fortunes were gained by speculation in converting crowns and rubles into lei. With this tax reform, which is designed to end the ancient reproach that in Roumania the wealthy classes escaped their due share of taxation, goes a budget which embodies great economies. For 1920-21 the budget provided for six billion two hundred million lei, and the credits voted came to about nine billion; for 1921-22 the budget is for less than five billions. The government has also brought in a drastic rent regulation bill; the housing problem has been perhaps severer in Bucharest than anywhere else in Europe. Minister Titulesco was also successful in obtaining easier

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financial terms from London, and a loan from Paris, secured by grain exports; Switzerland granted a similar loan in September, 1921.

Prices, though falling, continue high in Roumania, both relatively and absolutely; and the world business depression of 1920-21 has had its influence there also. It is amusing to read in the Roumanian papers the same complaints we are familiar with, that apples lie rotting under the trees because it does not pay to pack and ship them, and that the peasant cannot get a fair price for his cattle, while beef is still exorbitantly dear at the butcher's. In the depreciated currency, prices seem fantastic. I clip from recent papers advertisements of Fiat automobiles, landaulets type 2, at 180,000 lei, and Steyr 6-cylinder 40-h. p. machines at 179,000. It is the salaried classes who suffer, as everywhere. In May, 1921, the salaries of teachers and professors were raised again. Monthly salaries run from 500 lei for assistant teachers, and 900 for regular teachers with diploma, to 1900 for professors in secondary schools, 2600 for university assistant professors, and 3000 for full professors. Prices of commodities in May, 1921, may be judged from those advertised by the government for the disposal of its surplus war stores (which prices are always very much lower than retailers' in general). The most important are, per kilo (2.2 lbs.): cheese 13 lei, prunes 10, bacon 14, oil 13, beans 1.75, household soap 13, sugar 14.50, rice 6, pepper 16, coffee 15, fat 17, macaroni 8, powdered milk 4.50 the can, canned meat 8. During the war and for two years after, the American

Red Cross considered Bucharest the most expensive city in Europe, and it still stands high in the list. Rents in particular are high and scarce.

Nine Roumanians out of ten will give you a political explanation of high prices, hard times, rent scarcity, or any other economic phenomena. I think I have never been in any country where politics are so all-pervasive, and where political personalities in the newspapers are so piquant. There are numerous party organizations, each grouped about some important personage or personages, and somewhat franker in their relation to big banks or commercial and manufacturing enterprises than is the case with us; I would not, however, imply that Roumanian political morality is any lower than that of New York or Philadelphia. Since the war great political dislocations have occurred; the Peasants' Party, an agrarian organization, is a combination of genuine "Granger" sentiment and experienced politicians, quite new to the field and disconcerting to the old stagers; their leader most in view at present is Mihalache. The distinguished historian, Professor Iorga, is head of the Nationalists. The old-time Liberals have maintained a powerful organization, under the Bratianos and their associates; and the great political puzzle of the past year has been to learn whether they would succeed in incorporating the old National Party of Transylvania, headed by Dr. Julius Maniu and Dr. Vaida Voevod, with 100 Deputies; but as yet the Transylvanians have maintained an independent attitude. The former Conservatives are split up into two or three parties, the most direct descendants being the Conservative

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Progressives under ex-Premier Alexander Marghiloman, who made a strong fight in the spring of 1921 for a senatorship from the Dobrudja, but was defeated by one of the Bratianos. Take Jonesco's party, an offshoot of the Conservatives, is called the Democratic Party, and revolves very closely about its leader. The Socialist Party is strong in the large cities; five members belonging to the Chamber signed a manifesto of fellowship with the Bolsheviki in 1921, and were promptly arrested by the Government, on its guard since the Communist bomb outrage in the Senate in the winter of 1920, and since the Communist troubles in the neighbouring states of Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia. Some Socialists had previously been suspended in the session of 1920-21, including Eli Moscovici, the most prominent Jewish member of the House; there seems, however, to have been no anti-Semitic feeling involved, and I am glad to confirm the rapid disappearance of the old prejudice, which seems to me hardly if at all stronger in Bucharest than in New York. Take Jonesco has always been noted for his fairness in this question. In spite of losing various by-elections, the coalition Ministry of General Averesco, the popular and successful war hero, in which Take Jonesco is Foreign Minister, has maintained itself now for over a year; its chief strength is based on the so-called People's Party. This is the third Ministry (and fourth Premiership) since the armistice; the Liberals first under John Bratiano and then under General Văitoianu, carried through the protest against Roumania's treatment at Paris, but were displaced by a coalition of the National Democratic parties in November,

1919 (first parliamentary elections of Greater Roumania), with the Transylvanian Vaida Voevod as Premier; General Averesco came in in March, 1920. Not counting Transylvania, the political strength of the Chamber elected in the spring of 1920 was: People's Party, 147; Democratic Federation, 34; Peasants' Party of Bessarabia, 25; Socialists, 14; Democrats, 12; Liberals, 7; Independents, 3; Union Democrat (Bucovina), 1; Bucovina Jewish Party, 1; Bessarabian German Party, 1; other Bucovina members, 2. A man may run for the Chamber in several cities; Dr. Lupu, former Minister of the Interior, was elected in three—Bucharest, Kishineff and Hushi—three Bessarabians were each elected in two, and Mihalache in Rimnic-Sarat and Muscel. Every one must rejoice that new issues have arisen to smooth over the divisions of the war, though the "bloody shirt" still figures extensively in Roumanian politics, as it did in the United States after the Civil War period. Striking testimony to the new conditions was given by the triumphant election, early in 1921, at Soroca in Bessarabia, of Constantine Stere, who had been the editor of an anti-Entente sheet, *Lumina*, in Bucharest under the Germans; the electors disregarded what seemed to many a disloyal record during the war, because he had later taken a prominent part, like Marghiloman, in the reunion of Bessarabia with the mother country, and had shown devotion to Bessarabian interests. It is reported that a prominent member of the Ministry went at once to King Ferdinand to ask for his consent to an impeachment of Stere; but the King, with his characteristic wise moderation, interposed a

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veto, saying that the past must be forgotten, and all Roumanians pull together for the improvement of their country. In a land where political fights are sharp and frequent and political changes kaleidoscopic, the King has the valuable function of a stabilizer.

Greater Roumania is therefore well advanced along political paths of reconstruction and reconciliation. Commissions are at work on the new Constitution, which will doubtless be promulgated this year. Meanwhile, financial reform has been inaugurated; enormous industrial and banking development has taken place, of which New York has recently seen evidence in the opening on lower Broadway of the handsome "Roumanian House," the American home of the great Bucharest bank, Marmorosch Blank & Co.; and Roumania seems well started along the lines on which Italy has been so successful. Of all the "Succession States," she makes the deepest and the most dramatic appeal to our sympathies and our co-operation.



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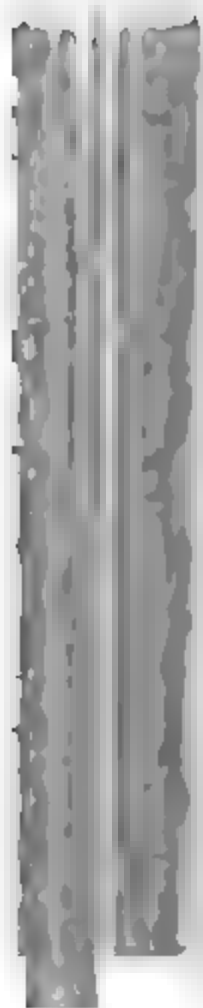
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